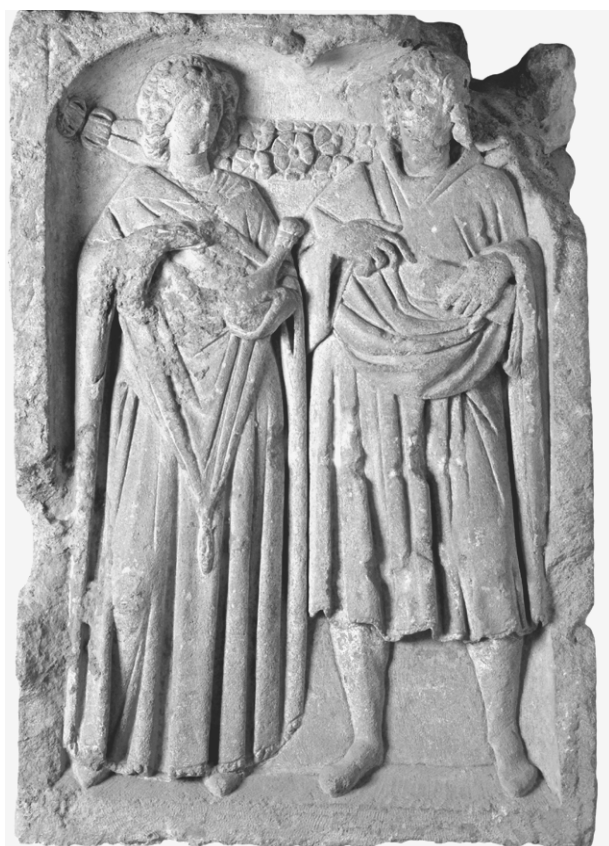


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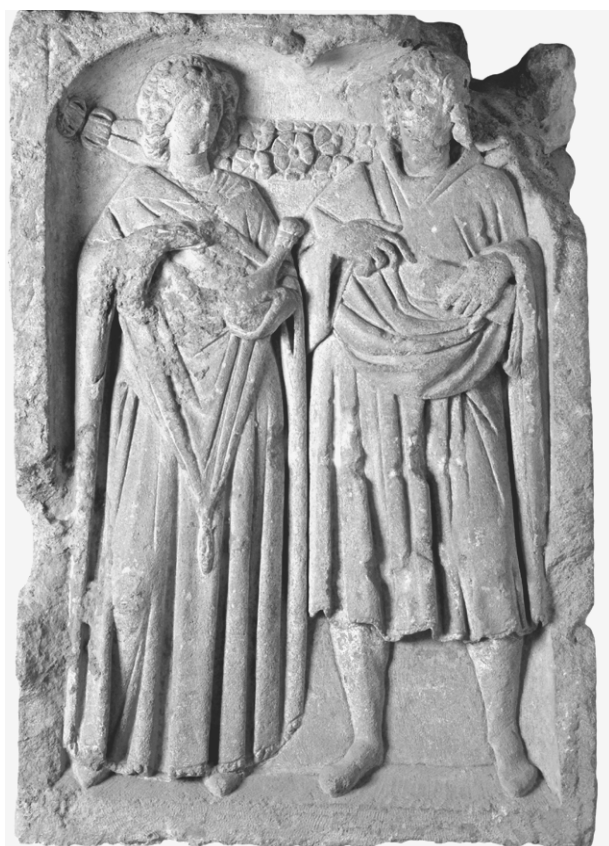
Ursula Rothe



BAR International Series 2038
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List of Abbreviations

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> , Berlin/New York 1972-1997
<i>BJ</i>	<i>Bonner Jahrbücher</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>CSIR</i>	<i>Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani</i>
Espérandieu	E. Espérandieu, <i>Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule Romaine</i> , Paris 1907-1981
Galsterer/Galsterer	B. Galsterer/H. Galsterer, <i>Die römischen Steininschriften aus Köln</i> , Cologne 1975
GMM	Grafschafter Museum Moers
<i>ILB</i>	A. Deman/M.-T. Raepsaet-Charlier, <i>Les inscriptions latines de Belgique</i> , Brussels 1985
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
MLM	Landesmuseum, Mainz
Mus. Lux.	Musée Luxembourgeois, Arlon
Mus. Hist. Art, Lux.	Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art, Luxembourg
<i>NP</i>	H. Cancik/H. Schneider (eds), <i>Der Neue Pauly</i> , Stuttgart 1996-2003
<i>OPEL</i>	B. Lörincz/F. Redö, <i>Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum</i> , Budapest 1994
RGK	Römisch-Germanische Kommission
RGM	Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne
RGZM	Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz
<i>RIB</i> 1965-	R.G. Collingwood/R.P. Wright, <i>Roman Inscriptions of Britain</i> , Oxford
RLB	Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn
RLT	Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier
ROL	Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Trierer Zeitschrift</i>

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The following is a considerably shortened version of a PhD thesis submitted to the University of Manchester in Autumn 2006. For help and encouragement during the composition of that first manuscript, thanks are due to my supervisors, Tim Cornell, Graham Burton and Andy Fear for mentoring the project, Mary Beagon for her useful comments and Paul Holder in the John Rylands Library for his advice on the inscriptions. I am very grateful to my examiners, Greg Woolf and Tim Parkin, for their valuable comments and continuing support. At Manchester I am also enormously grateful to John Peter Wild for his advice, for the long chats that became such a source of inspiration, and for his continued encouragement as fellow participant in the *Dress ID* project. I hope I have flown the flag to his satisfaction. I am indebted to many people for their moral support throughout the PhD project, among them David Langslow, James Thorne, Stefan Skrimshire, Eleanor Bullen, Jean-Baptiste Robertson and Elvis Williams. The doctoral research was generously funded by Universities UK and the University of Manchester. I am very thankful to Peter Noelke, former director of the Museumsdienst in Cologne, for his help and encouragement in the initial stages of the thesis, Hubert Leifeld of the Landesamt für Denkmalpflege in Koblenz for discussing his research on *fibulae* with me and Astrid Böhme of Landesarchäologie Mainz, who has given me advice whenever I needed it since we met in 2008. The library of the Römisch-Germanische Kommission of the DAI in Frankfurt has become a second home in recent years and I am very grateful to the staff there who have shown me such generosity and hospitality. For invaluable advice and help with the editing and revision of the current manuscript I am especially grateful to Valerie Hope, Hartmut Galsterer, Yasmine Freigang, Michael Klein, my colleagues at the University of Edinburgh and my partner, Thomas Schierl. Finally, I am indebted to my parents in Australia, Ian and Marie Rothe, who have shown nothing but enthusiasm and support for my career, despite it taking me down unusual paths and a long way from home. This book is dedicated to them.

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1. INTRODUCTION

For the apparell oft proclaimes the man.

POLONIUS IN *HAMLET* (ACT 1, SCENE 3)

Shakespeare was not the first, nor would he be the last, to make this observation about dress. All human societies cover or adorn their bodies in some way, and the choice of what is worn is usually based only partly on practical considerations. It has, in fact, become almost a cliché that dress says something about its wearer. It is consequently surprising that it has been somewhat neglected in Roman provincial archaeology, particularly in view of the large amount of attention that has recently been paid to the nature of cultural change in the Roman provinces. Our understanding of this has changed considerably over the past two decades and has seen a gradual rejection of both the term ‘Romanisation’ and its traditional meaning. Fortunately, however, the ashes of Romanisation theory have proven to be fertile ground for new ideas and approaches to cultural questions. This study is an attempt to contribute to this development.

To explain why dress was chosen as the subject matter, it is first necessary to take a brief look at relevant developments in cultural studies of the Roman Empire. We have now moved far beyond the concept of ‘Romanisation’ as understood by its originators in the 19th and early 20th centuries¹ as the deliberate dissemination of ‘superior’ Roman culture among the more ‘primitive’ peoples the Romans conquered (seen very much in the light of European imperialism). This traditional view, although already questioned in a number of earlier works,² was really only fundamentally contested from the 1970s onward as scholars began to reflect more critically on the ideas handed down from Mommsen and Haverfield. The re-examination resulted in a number of new approaches, from the idea of ‘self-Romanisation’, which took agency in the cultural process away from the Romans and gave it to the provincial elites and their inferiors who emulated them,³ to the ‘post-colonial perspective’, which sought to deconstruct the myth of Roman superiority and to focus on the, especially negative, experiences of the provincials under Roman imperialism.⁴ More recently, cultural change in the Roman provinces has been linked to the pervasive and self-defining mass culture of the Augustan period (Woolf’s and Wallace-Hadrill’s ‘Roman cultural

revolution’) in which ‘becoming Roman’ was less about subscribing to a set cultural “package” and more about “joining the insiders’ debate about what that package did or ought to consist of at that particular time.”⁵

While, as I have argued elsewhere,⁶ changes in the prevailing zeitgeist of Western scholarship, due, among other things, to the collapse of the European colonial empires and a growing scepticism towards ‘progress’, were ultimately at the root of these changes, they were also linked to shifts in the thematic foci, theoretical framework and sources used in Roman historical investigation. As both the parameters of archaeological research and its use in historical studies expanded, the traditional focus on core political developments, the lifestyle of the elite and the more tangible and structural elements of Roman expansion such as language, urbanisation, the military, the economy and citizenship,⁷ has been joined by an increasing interest in non-elite, provincial populations and the more personal, psychological experience of empire.⁸ In the wake of this development, topics which had hitherto only been touched upon became the focus for new studies, such as propaganda and psychological intimidation,⁹ imperial (especially Augustan) ideology¹⁰ and the compatibility of different cultural mentalities.¹¹

One of the most interesting debates to have unfolded from this concerns the extent to which the adoption of

⁵ Woolf 1998 11. See also recently Wallace-Hadrill 2008 in which the author dedicates an entire chapter to language and dress, identifying a functional similarity between the two.

⁶ Rothe 2005; 2006.

⁷ E.g. Brunt 1976; Petit 1976; Vittinghoff 1976; Hopkins 1980; Ørsted 1985; Alföldy 1988; Cunliffe 1988.

⁸ Cf. introductory remarks in Millett/Roymans/Slofstra 1995, 1f. Examples of publications with this approach include Roymans 1990; 1996; Hanson 1994; all contributions to Metzler et al. 1995; Woolf 1998; Derks 1998.

⁹ E.g. Lintott 1993, 175ff. on Roman “publicity”. For the psychological role of architecture see Lintott (above), Tuck 1997 on Roman harbours and Mattern 1999, 114 on frontier architecture. See Hanson 1994, 153 for citizenship as a means of generating a sense of collectivity. For Roman psychological intimidation see, originally, Luttwak’s distinguishing between ‘power’ and ‘force’ (Luttwak 1976, 5) and Millett 1990, 40ff., who states that threats of aggression, demonstrations of power and promises of prosperity were more efficient than outright force.

¹⁰ E.g. Ramage 1997, 160: “Romanization was Augustanization.” An idea inspired, perhaps, by Zanker’s 1987 study of Augustan visual propaganda. See also Woolf 1998 and Wallace-Hadrill 2008. For the Roman emperor as the focus of Roman identity and culture, see Hanson 1994, 152f.

¹¹ For the idea that the Romans exploited native values to legitimise their rule see MacMullen 2000, 133. See Roymans 1996, 13ff. for Romans using the martial ideology of frontier peoples for their own military purposes. For ‘detrribalization’ see Slofstra 1983, 79ff., and Roymans 1990. Haselgrove prefers the word ‘centralization’ (Haselgrove 1984, 27). Based on Elias 1976, 369ff., Roymans argued that ‘detrribalization’ was a profound “psychological-cognitive” change (Roymans 1990, 269). See also Cunliffe 1988, 94ff. For such changes as part of a much longer-term process in north-western Europe that did not necessarily have anything to do with Roman influence see Reece 1990.

¹ See, for example, Haverfield 1901; 1905-06; 1923; 1924; Mommsen 1941; 1992.

² E.g. Swoboda 1963, an excellent article that unfortunately has gone virtually unnoticed by Romanisation theorists.

³ See Saddington 1975; Vittinghoff 1976; Brunt 1976; MacMullen 1984; 2000; Alföldy 1988; Garnsey/Saller 1989; Haselgrove 1990; Lintott 1993; Whittaker 1994; Fear 1996; Spickermann 1997; 2001 and especially Millett 1992.

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⁴ See especially Hingley 1982; 1991; 1994; 1996; 1997; 2000; Freeman 1996; Webster 1994; 1996a; 1996b; Mattingly 1997; Drummond/Nelson 1994.

Roman material culture can also be interpreted in psychological terms. Mattingly and Hingley have used the term ‘hidden transcript’ to denote the messages they perceive to be cached in patterns of material consumption.¹² Millett, Roymans and Slofstra are likewise convinced that

... material culture, as studied by archaeologists, does not simply reflect human behaviour, but is also the bearer of symbolic meanings. This symbolism structures all aspects of the archaeological record, the mortuary evidence in cemeteries, the refuse patterns in settlements, and the organisation of the cultural landscape. The conviction is growing that archaeologists can decode these symbolic meanings through contextual analyses, and can thus obtain insights into ideational aspects of ancient societies. This means not only religion, but also cultural values, ideas about social identities and cosmological representations.¹³

Such an approach does, however, carry the risk of over-interpretation. Woolf has pointed out that objects could enter alien cultural contexts more easily than ideas and values and Blagg has demonstrated that adoption of Roman material culture did not necessarily mean the adoption of Roman lifestyle.¹⁴ Moreover, patterns in the consumption of goods can have had at least as much to do with what was available, and affordable, on the market, as with profound psychological processes.¹⁵ In other words: different forms of material culture carry varying quantities and types of interpretational value. For Hanson, symbolic meaning can best be read in cultural elements to which people tended to have a more conservative stance and which were closely linked to values and emotions, such as language, religion and art.¹⁶

Dress could be added to this list, and it is of particular value in this context because it was worn on the person, and was as such directly linked with the identity an individual wishes to express. Dress is both highly personal and highly visible, it is flexible and portable but concrete,

and it can easily be understood by others.¹⁷ As Kuper has written, “a person’s relationship to his clothing is at once different from and more intimate than his relationship to all other material objects.”¹⁸

The concept of ‘identity’ has in many ways come to replace ‘Romanisation’ in thinking about provincial cultures because it allows more flexible combinations of cultural elements and processes; however, as Pitts has recently pointed out, this flexibility borders dangerously on meaningless ambiguity.¹⁹ This is especially the case when the term is applied indiscriminately to bodies of material culture without reflection on the intention behind their use (a similar hazard of the ‘hidden transcript’ approach outlined above). Pitts has argued that the social practice attested by material remains is of greater consequence for questions of identity than the material itself, and in the case of dress these two things converge happily. But there is still a lack of clarity as to what identity actually means. Many decades ago, the sociologist G.P. Stone formulated a useful definition that will form the basis of this study:

“[Identity] is not a substitute word for “self.” Instead, when one has identity, he is *situated* – that is, cast in the shape of a social object by the acknowledgement of his participation or membership in social relations. One’s identity is established when others *place* him as a social object by assigning him the same words of identity that he appropriates for himself or *announces*.”²⁰

This definition emphasises the importance of communication and the presence of an audience in the formulation of identity, and suggests an element of intentionality. These conditions are met uniquely well by dress behaviour.

A person’s identity consists not merely of their ethnic background or attitude to a prevailing culture, as traditional Romanisation theory would have it; the many facets of identity – such as religious affiliation, occupation, gender, age, political function, wealth status or legal status – interact with one another and are difficult to understand in isolation. Dress has the ability to express all of these things simultaneously and, as a result, to provide a unique insight into the complex cultural processes at work within a provincial population.

It is surprising, then, that so far dress has been largely overlooked within the ‘cultural change’ field of Roman provincial studies, aside from smaller publications on

¹² The term ‘hidden transcript’ was first coined by Scott 1990. See also Hingley 1997, 81f. and Mattingly 1997, 15: “[T]hrough the archaeological record, we have abundant ‘texts’; they are far more difficult to read and interpret than conventional ones, but nonetheless contain pattern and significance.”

¹³ Millett/Roymans/Slofstra 1995, 2. An example of the extent to which a single artefact can be bestowed with meaning is the Roman *mortarium*. Baatz has claimed that in his study area the adoption of the *mortarium* marks the very turning point from a prehistoric to a Roman way of life (Baatz 1977, 155). The idea of the cultural significance of *mortaria* dates back to Frere 1967, 297.

¹⁴ Woolf 1998, 16; Blagg 1990 based on his research into Roman-style houses among the native inhabitants of Gaul and Britain. See also Clarke’s 1996 comparison of Roman Cirencester and Gloucester, in which he showed that behind the Roman material façade of the former lay a firm continuity of Late Iron Age social structures and values, while the people of *Glevum* experienced much more profound changes in their social structure despite far less Roman material in that town’s finds.

¹⁵ Cooper 1996.

¹⁶ Hanson 1994, 157f. where he suggests developing separate interpretational frameworks for different spheres of evidence.

¹⁷ Roach/Eicher 1965, 3. See also Davis 1992, 25: “Obviously, because clothing (along with cosmetics and coiffure) comprises what is most closely attached to the corporeal self – it frames much of what we see when we see one another – it quite naturally acquires a special capacity to, speaking somewhat loosely, “say things” about the self (Stone 1962). Dress, then, comes easily to serve as a kind of visual metaphor for identity ...”

¹⁸ Kuper 1973, 366.

¹⁹ Pitts 2007, 693f.

²⁰ Stone 1962, 93. Stone’s italics.

specific monuments²¹ and brief mentions in larger studies for which the focus lay elsewhere.²² The reason for this lies perhaps in the sources: textiles only ever survive under specific conditions and have only been retrieved in significant quantities in very few parts of the Roman Empire, such as the Fayyoun and Palmyra, as well as in some bog finds beyond the Roman frontier in northern Europe. Pictorial evidence, particularly in funerary art, is, however, abundant in some parts of the north-west, and contains a great deal of information as to which garments were worn and, importantly (when the inscription survives), by whom. This study aims to exploit the information contained in the funerary art of the Rhine-Moselle region, which has yielded an outstanding quantity of such monuments, and which at the same time has a varied social and cultural history.

The vast majority of the grave monuments from the Rhine-Moselle region, whether intact or, as is more often the case, in fragments, have been published in various corpora, such as Espérandieu's *Recueil général des bas-reliefs*,²³ the more recent *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani* series²⁴ and various regional volumes like Galsterer and Galsterer's collection of the Cologne monuments,²⁵ Gabelmann, Andrikopolou-Strack, Faust and Willer's of those of the Rhine region²⁶ and Mariën's of the Arlon and Buzenol stones.²⁷ The stones have been the subject of a number of studies, albeit primarily from an art historical perspective, of which Hatt's *La tombe Gallo-Romaine*²⁸ is perhaps the best known. Hope has recently examined the stones from Mainz (as well as Aquileia and Nîmes) from the perspective of reading the entire monument in all its constituent parts, and, as such, gave little detailed consideration to the clothing other than as a means to identify indigenous people.²⁹ Freigang is the only scholar to have looked at patterns in clothing on gravestones more closely in the context of her study of the Treveran and Mediomatrican monuments.³⁰ However, her survey is far from comprehensive and her conclusions will be questioned below.

The actual garments and ensembles worn in the north-western provinces were first exhaustively identified, classified and described by Wild and, later, Böhme, based largely on the funerary depictions.³¹ Analogous research has been conducted for other parts of the em-

pire, including studies of funerary art in the Dijon area³² and the Danube provinces.³³ The pioneering work on Roman dress by Wilson, Blümner and Bieber³⁴ has been built on and modified by scholars such as Kolb,³⁵ Sebesta and Bonfante³⁶ and Olson.³⁷ A number of recent conferences have produced important studies that go beyond previous work to assess the meaning of different garments and dress behaviour in Roman society.³⁸ However, Wild and Böhme's remain the only studies directly related to the Rhine-Moselle region.³⁹ Nonetheless, while their research has been of utmost value in terms of identifying garments and inspiring lines of enquiry, it was inevitably mostly descriptive in character. The present study serves to build on this earlier work by analysing patterns in the wearing of these garments and attempting to explain these patterns in the context of cultural identity.

It should be noted at this point that this study is deliberately restricted to a survey of the clothing worn by civilians, as opposed to that worn by members of the military. There are several reasons for this. First, Roman military units were highly mobile. In our region, they played a minor role in the Treveran area but in the Middle Rhine and Ubian areas in the 1st cent., the period to which most of the stones in these two areas date, military units were constantly in a state of flux.⁴⁰ Second, the Roman army was a world apart from civilian life. That is not to say that there was no interaction between members of the civilian and military population. Indeed, of course, soldiers often had families living in settlements adjoined to their camps, not to mention the obvious economic and, to an extent, administrative links with the local civilian population. However, soldiers, for the most part, lived inside enclosed military installations and were governed by a system wholly apart from the civilian world. The factors that determined the dress of various members of the military bear little relation to those at work in civilian society. Third, military dress should not be studied on a regional basis, but on an occupational one.⁴¹ Although military clothing in some cases seems to show some regional traits,⁴² especially among auxiliary soldiers, every Roman soldier was part of a larger cultural context, namely the Roman military.⁴³ The dress history of Roman soldiers is, in any case, highly complicated and would itself fill a separate study. The topic has already been the focus of a

²¹ E.g. Boppert 1991; Böhme 1978; Böhme-Schönberger 1995.

²² E.g. Okun 1989, 113; Hatt 1986, 9f. This obviously excludes the copious and valuable work on the distribution of various forms of *fibulae* and other metal fastenings which, however, can rarely be linked to actual garments and garment ensembles. For *fibula* types and distribution in the Rhine-Moselle region see, *inter alios*, Exner 1939; Behrens 1927; 1950; 1954; Capelle 1965; Böhme 1970; 1972; Böhme-Schönberger 1994; Leifeld 2007.

²³ Espérandieu 1907-1981.

²⁴ E.g. Bauchhenß 1979; Binsfeld 1988; Boppert 1992b.

²⁵ Galsterer/Galsterer 1975.

²⁶ Gabelmann 1972; Andrikopolou-Strack 1986; Faust 1998; Willer 2005.

²⁷ Mariën 1943a; 1943b; 1943c; 1944a; 1944b; 1945b.

²⁸ Hatt 1986.

²⁹ Hope 2001.

³⁰ Freigang 1997a.

³¹ Wild 1968a; 1968b; 1985; Böhme 1985; Böhme-Schönberger 1995.

³² Langlois 1959-1962.

³³ Láng 1919; Mautner/Geramb 1932; Garbsch 1965; Čremošník 1964.

³⁴ Blümner 1911; Bieber 1931; 1977; Wilson 1924; 1938.

³⁵ E.g. Kolb 1973; 1974; 1976.

³⁶ E.g. Sebesta/Bonfante 1994.

³⁷ Olson 2008. Croom 2002 should perhaps also be mentioned here, although it is a summary of previous knowledge for a popular audience rather than a scholarly contribution with new insights.

³⁸ Cleland/Harlow/Llewellyn-Jones 2005; Edmondson/Keith 2008.

³⁹ Roche-Bernard's study of dress in Gaul is focussed primarily on textile manufacture and has not contributed anything new to knowledge of garment types (Roche-Bernard 1993).

⁴⁰ Wild 1968b, 167.

⁴¹ See also Wild 1985, 365.

⁴² Wild 1985, 365; Sander 1963, 150f.

⁴³ Although it is advisable to avoid the conception that Roman military dress was, in any modern sense, a "uniform". See already Sander 1963, 148.

number of excellent studies.⁴⁴

In contrast, however, to most corpora and other publications that focus on grave monuments in our region, veterans of the Roman military will be treated as civilians. These retired soldiers often settled down in or near the area they were last stationed and entered civilian society, usually founding families (although this was often a case of making existing relations official), setting up businesses and take part in civilian economic life. Indeed, many of these enterprises appear to have been very successful going by the elaborateness of some of their grave monuments. They are often depicted in civilian dress on these monuments and many held civil public positions in their local community.

While the present inquiry charts new territory in Roman cultural research, there are in fact two academic disciplines that have long recognised the relationship between clothing and identity and have established useful theoretical frameworks in which to examine this relationship: anthropology and sociology. It is for this reason that chapter 2 ('The Aim and Scope of the Study') begins with a discussion of the symbolic meanings of dress as identified by sociologists and anthropologists based on their research in more modern contexts. The next two sections after that set out the chronological and geographical scope of the study by explaining the time period chosen and the boundaries (as illustrated by maps in Appendix I) and histories of the study's three areas.

While all other relevant sources are discussed and drawn upon, this investigation is primarily focussed on depictions on grave monuments. The reasons for this, as well as a discussion of the nature of the sources and their unique potential to inform us about identity, are the subject of chapter 3 ('The Sources'). More technical aspects of the use of Roman gravestones are included in Appendix III.

In order to be able to gauge the effect integration into the Roman Empire had on the dress behaviour of the Rhine-Moselle population, it is important first to establish what was worn in the region before Roman conquest. This is closely linked to the question of the origins of the garments we see in the Roman period. The first part of chapter 4 ('The Types of Dress in the Rhine-Moselle Region') puts forward a number of new theories regarding pre-Roman dress in the region and the origins of garments. As a result, and also due to a certain amount of confusion in terminology in previous studies, the second part of chapter 4 presents a typology of garments including brief descriptions. Each garment is given a code number to facilitate identification in the catalogue (Appendix IV) which includes all civilian funerary monuments depicting identifiable clothing from the Rhine-Moselle region

Chapter 5 ('Dress Behaviour on the Grave Monuments')

discusses the results from analysing dress behaviour on the stones in the catalogue which is presented, primarily in graphical form, in Appendix II. Various approaches are taken in this chapter in order to gain as comprehensive an image as possible of the patterns in dress behaviour and their relation to other factors. The first three sections describe the dress behaviour in each of the three study areas in turn. By focussing on similar aspects (chronological patterns, sub-regional patterns, the distribution of individual garments or ensembles), it is possible not only to link dress behaviour with what is known about the history and character of the area but also to draw comparisons between the three areas. The three sections after that look at dress behaviour across the region according to occupational group, gender and generation within a family. The penultimate section of chapter 5 investigates the meaning of headwear in general and the possible significance of the various bonnets that appear to have played such a central role in native dress in the Rhine-Moselle region. The final section looks at the phenomenon of mixing garments of different origin within the same outfit as a solution to the 'problem of what to wear' in a complicated cultural environment.

A general summary and comparison of these results is undertaken in the conclusion (chapter 6) in order to link the findings back to the current state of Roman cultural studies and to assess how these findings contribute to our understanding of the social processes at work in the provinces of the Roman Empire.

⁴⁴ E.g. Lindenschmit 1882; Sander 1963; Sumner 2002; 2003 and the appropriate sections in Southern/Dixon 1996; Stephenson/Dixon 2003; Bishop/Coulston 1993.

2. THE AIM AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Dress and identity: modern theories and ancient contexts

Apparel proclaims the man (or woman) – but how? The social sciences have been grappling with this question for nearly a century, and most intensively since the 1960s, albeit from very different angles. Psychologists tell us that dress has three main purposes: protection, modesty and decoration.⁴⁵ Anthropologists and sociologists have traditionally been most interested in the latter two of these and have examined the uses of dress in both Western (mainly sociology) and non-Western (mainly cultural anthropology) societies.

Since the 1960s, there has been a growing appreciation in these disciplines that dress plays a more abstract, and at the same time more profound, role in human society than it had hitherto been credited with. The meaning of fashion in society became a primary interest of such influential scholars as Lévi-Strauss and Roland Barthes.⁴⁶ Dress in general came to be seen as a vital component in the new concept of ‘identity’; pioneering work in this field was undertaken by Gregory Stone and the cultural anthropologist Joanne Eicher. Stone argued that dress should be considered beside the already accepted aspects of body language and gestures as part of non-verbal communication that was the primary concern of his main field of research: symbolic interactionism.⁴⁷ In accordance with Stone’s definition of identity given in the introduction above, this approach sees interaction between individuals as the basis for personal identities.

More recently, sociologists have taken this even further, treating dress as a language with its own different types of ‘words’.⁴⁸ Others, such as Fred Davis (picking up on Eco’s *Theory of Semiotics*⁴⁹) prefer to see clothing as a type of code. For Davis, dress is simply too ambiguous and changeable for the language analogy to be useful.⁵⁰ The importance of this for the present study is that a person’s appearance is an immediate and constantly changing form of communication, not merely reflecting identity, but engaged in a kind of dialogue with social structures and other individual identities, themselves also symbolised by dress.⁵¹

Anthropologists have arrived at a similar conclusion,

having, however, travelled a completely different path. Joanne Eicher was first inspired to see identity as the deciding factor in dress in her research on the Gambell Inuit who, after contact with Western culture, adopted Western clothes, despite the onset of severe health problems because their traditional garments had been more appropriate to their climate.⁵² Since then, the number of studies in anthropology that endeavour to use dress to gain an insight into social and cultural processes, especially in colonial and post-colonial societies, has grown exponentially.⁵³ It has been recognised that dress has played a vital and active role in the formulation of the positions of individuals and groups in the context of such central matters as independence movements, major economic and political changes and upheavals, relations between colonisers and colonised, religious identities and globalisation.⁵⁴ Like Stone, anthropologists like Hilda Kuper are quick to point out that clothing should not be seen merely as a passive reflection, but rather as a cultural product that can be *actively* manipulated and used in the non-verbal dialogue with a person’s surroundings.⁵⁵

Dress choice is, naturally, constrained by class and the expectations of the immediate community of an individual, especially in strongly stratified societies like the Roman provincial population. Nonetheless, Tarlo has shown that even in severely rigid, caste-dominated rural Indian society, people consciously use their appearance to negotiate their place, however subtly, and are able to make free decisions within given parameters.⁵⁶ The enormous variety of dress behaviour depicted on the funerary monuments of the Rhine-Moselle region bears witness to a large degree of individuality in dress choice.

As mentioned in the introduction, what makes dress at once so complicated and so valuable is its ability to express various types of identity at once. As a result, other facets of a person’s identity, such as their gender, family background, religion or occupation have an impact on how they define that aspect that is of central importance to this study: ethnicity. This is a highly problematic term⁵⁷ and an alternative will be postulated below, but it is useful at this stage to orient ourselves by looking at an oft-cited definition from anthropology:

⁵² Roach/Eicher 1965, 282; Hughes 1960.

⁵³ The most influential of these have been the research of Kuper and Hendrickson in southern Africa, e.g. Kuper 1973, Hendrickson 1996; also the work of other, mainly Dutch, anthropologists in Indonesia, e.g. Schulte Nordholt 1997; and a recent study by Tarlo in India: Tarlo 1996.

⁵⁴ E.g. Kuper 1973; Hendrickson 1996b; Tarlo 1996; Renne 1996; Schoss 1996; Schulte Nordholt 1997.

⁵⁵ E.g. Kuper 1973, 347f.; 365f. See also Roach/Eicher 1965, 3; Hendrickson 1996b, 2.

⁵⁶ Tarlo 1996, esp. 1.

⁵⁷ For its use in archaeology see especially Jones 1997.

⁴⁵ This fundamental tenet is usually attributed to Flügel 1930, 15ff., who, however, based this on Hall 1898, 366.

⁴⁶ See, e.g. Barthes 1967.

⁴⁷ The basis of which were the ideas of G.H. Mead, e.g. Mead 1934.

⁴⁸ See Lurie 1992.

⁴⁹ Eco 1979.

⁵⁰ Davis 1992, 5.

⁵¹ Stone 1962, 101f.: “In appearances, then, selves are established and mobilized. As the self is dressed, it is simultaneously addressed ...” Cf. already Hartmann 1949: dress as *both* stimulus and response.

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⁵¹ Stone 1962, 101f.: “In appearances, then, selves are established and mobilized. As the self is dressed, it is simultaneously addressed ...” Cf. already Hartmann 1949: dress as *both* stimulus and response.

[Ethnic identity] is a past-oriented form of identity, embedded in the cultural heritage of the individual or group ... [that] contrasts with a sense of belonging linked with citizenship within a political state, or present-oriented affiliations to specific groups demanding professional, occupational or class loyalties.⁵⁸

The terms and parameters used in this definition show it to be applicable also to communities in the provinces of the Roman Empire, for while tribal grouping lingered to an extent in the formation of *civitates*, people were also part of the wider, imposed political structure, not to mention occupational, status or class groups. This concept, however, fails to circumscribe the complex processes at work when a community becomes part of the *cultural* world of an empire. As will be shown below, this could entail the adoption and adaptation of imported cultural traits, as well as the creation of totally new ones. As a result, the term 'cultural identity' will be used in place of ethnicity as a more workable term.

This study is concerned with cultural identity in the north-west of the Roman Empire, and the effect of Roman rule on the population of this region. Inevitably, then, it involves tracking, and to an extent explaining, cultural change. Comaroff and Comaroff have stated that the body "cannot escape being a vehicle of history."⁵⁹ In this context, dress can function as a kind of barometer of cultural orientations and aspirations.⁶⁰ But in all societies people can be party to a number of different cultural identities at the same time. This is shown most clearly in the dilemma the Ubii of Cologne faced during the Batavian Revolt of AD 69, when they received a letter from the Tencteri across the Rhine calling on them to slay the Romans in their city. According to Tacitus, their reply was that they had become so integrated with the Romans that this would mean killing their parents, their brothers and their children.⁶¹ As will be shown below, these parallel allegiances were reflected in dress by the wearing of, for instance, combinations of garments of differing origin.

So where are the boundaries of cultures? Who 'owns' Western culture? Who 'owned' Roman culture? Schulte Nordholt has pointed out that until very recently, the emphasis in anthropological and ethnographic literature was on describing 'authentic' indigenous dress and 'pure' dress behaviour. Anthropologists were reluctant "to recognize Western dress as a category that belonged to 'non-Western' peoples as well."⁶² While in both the Roman and the modern world it is important to draw a distinction between dress that originates inside a com-

munity on the one hand, and imported dress on the other, there is no denying that the processes themselves are often highly complicated. A boy in an Indian village wearing a Western T-shirt will be aware that he is wearing a non-traditional, Western item of clothing. However, what he may not be doing is deliberately emulating the ethnic dress of white Europeans; for him, Western clothing, unlike the traditional dress of his village, may belong to a cultural realm that is not associated with geographical space or ethnicity, that evokes an idea or symbolises membership of a wider community, and as such 'belongs' just as much to him as to any boy in Europe. It is this quality that sets Western dress, and arguably also Roman dress, apart from traditional native clothing. It is a specific consequence of the dynamics of empires.⁶³ As such, the terms 'Roman' and 'native' are used throughout this study, but the reader is asked to bear in mind the fundamental difference in the nature of these two cultural groupings. The term 'native' denotes garments that originated in the Rhine-Moselle region. The term 'Roman' is used to denote garments that both originated outside the region and found wide use within the Roman Empire.

Models and theories from sociology and anthropology are a good place to begin a study of any universally human behavioural trait, especially one which has received no such attention in Roman studies, and a great deal of use is made of both concepts and concrete examples from these two disciplines in the discussion to follow. But for all their aspirations to universality, both are also inevitably founded in the circumstances of the modern world, and have a vastly superior source base from which to work than scholars of the ancient world. For this reason, use of interdisciplinarity must be measured and purposeful. This applies particularly to any attempts to interpret meaning from patterns in the use of material goods.⁶⁴ In order to understand what dress says about the individual, we must be aware of the meaning that the garments worn possess. The difficulty for scholars of the ancient past is that very little remains in the way of sources that explicitly state what different types of dress meant to their wearers. Written sources give some information about the cultural role of the toga, for example, or the *pallium*, but it is possible that these garments embodied something slightly different among the people of northern Gaul than they did in the Roman core, and written sources are virtually silent on the meaning of garments not worn in the core of the empire. Unlike anthropologists, scholars of the ancient world cannot do fieldwork in the society they study. They cannot interview people and ask them what it means to them wear the clothes they have chosen. What they can do is establish the geographical, and hence, in many cases, cultural, origins of the garments worn; it is of utmost significance to the meaning of a garment whether it originated in the society or was imported from outside, and whether it had a long history or whether it was a new invention. It is for this reason that the whole of chapter 4

⁵⁸ De Vos/Romanucci-Ross 1982, 363.

⁵⁹ Comaroff/Comaroff 1992, 79.

⁶⁰ Bush/London 1965, 72. See also Chaudhuri 1976, 73: "... no one can change his clothes until there has been, in part or whole, a transfer of cultural allegiance."

⁶¹ Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.65. For this passage in full see the section 'The toga' in the Ubian area in chapter 5 below.

⁶² Schulte Nordholt 1997, 2.

⁶³ For a discussion of modern 'world culture' see Hannerz 1990, 237. "The world culture is created through ... the development of cultures without clear anchorage in any one territory."

⁶⁴ See the discussion in the introduction above.

is given over to the composition, origins and meanings of specific garments and ensembles worn in the Rhine-Moselle region.

The second important interpretational tool of the provincial archaeologist is correlation: meaning can be sought in the preference of particular groups in society for particular garments or garment ensembles. Once connections have been identified, hypotheses can be tested against what is known about those groups as to why they may have chosen that type of dress. It is in arriving at these hypotheses that comparative work comes into its own. The idea is, of course, not new. The strong link between scepticism of modern imperialism and the 'post-colonial perspective' in Roman studies has resulted in a resurgence of comparative approaches to Roman imperialism, notably in the fields of slavery, the ancient economy, and frontier studies, with a corresponding degree of criticism.⁶⁵ The synthesis of this debate has been most helpful in establishing both the potential and the limitations of comparison. Today many scholars agree that comparative evidence cannot give us facts, but, as Dyson has noted, "few of us expect from our fragmentary evidence absolute answers in the nineteenth century, positivistic sense."⁶⁶ Comparison can, however, provide suggestions as to the possible meanings of otherwise mysterious patterns of human behaviour in the ancient world. It would be foolish to ignore the lessons learnt from comparable but much better-documented societies to those we study.⁶⁷

Sound comparative research requires the scholar to be clear about the specific point of overlap that justifies the comparison. For example, if the common element were geographical location, the justifying factor would be the congruence of climate, landscape and perhaps ethnicity. In this study, the common element is that of 'problem' in the sense of Skocpol and Somers' definition of "macro-causal analysis", by which, starting from a specific phenomenon that needs to be explained, the researcher uses a range of comparative examples to formulate hypotheses to be tested against the evidence.⁶⁸ Clearly, it is risky to apply comparison indiscriminately. The main point of contention surrounding the comparative approach is that no two societies will ever be exactly alike. Examples abound in modern historiography of questionable and overexcited parallel-building between past and present.⁶⁹ The nature of the society chosen for comparison will

inevitably influence our interpretation.⁷⁰ One must be careful to choose societies and situations which are most analogous to one another and in which the inevitable differences influence the central problem as little as possible.⁷¹

Much of the comparative evidence used in this study comes from the Indian subcontinent, where a great deal of scholarship has been devoted to dress behaviour, both in the colonial past and the present.⁷² The comparison is justified on a number of grounds. The native societies of both northern Gaul and India were originally structured according to tribal affiliations and strict hierarchies within those tribal groups. They both initially possessed a large rural base, while urbanisation burgeoned as a result of absorption into the respective empires. Imperial rule was carried out in both areas through patronage of local elites, as opposed to large-scale colonisation, and both these elites were influenced by an imperial narrative of common destiny, 'progress' and inclusion into a larger 'civilisation'. In Rome, this sentiment is most eloquently expressed by Pliny when he describes Italy as

the land which is at once the foster-child and the parent of all lands; chosen by the providence of the Gods to render even heaven itself more glorious, to unite the scattered empires of the earth, to bestow a polish upon men's manners, to unite the discordant and uncouth dialects of so many different nations by the powerful ties of one common language, to confer the enjoyments of discourse and of civilization upon mankind, to become, in short, the mother-country of all nations of the Earth. ... [And in what terms am I to describe Italy's] ... seas so many in number, its havens and the bosom of its lands opening everywhere to the commerce of all the world, and as it were eagerly stretching forth into the very midst of the waves, for the purpose of aiding as it were the endeavours of mortals!⁷³

Both Woolf and Hingley have described in detail the effect such a world-view had on the elites of conquered territories. Admission to Roman 'civilisation' opened a whole world of opportunities to these people for social climbing, both politically and culturally, than their own

⁶⁵ For examples see Webster 1997; Mattingly 1997 and the discussion in Webster 1996a, 8f. as well as criticism by Harris 1979, 4. Also Patterson 1983; Bradley 1988; Hodkinson 2003; Dyson 1974; Okun 1989 and the discussion in Southern 1993, 148ff.

⁶⁶ Dyson 1974, 282.

⁶⁷ Dyson 1974, 277; Golden 1992, 310f.

⁶⁸ Skocpol/Somers 1980, 181ff. Cf. Marc Bloch, who favoured 'problem' over geography as a centre for comparison, said: "The unity of place is only disorder. ... Only the unity of problem makes a center." Cited in: Skocpol/Somers 1980, 194.

⁶⁹ Mommsen's unreflecting equation of the unification of Italy by the Romans with the unification of Germany in the 19th cent. is perhaps one case in point. See Demandt 1990, 287 f.

⁷⁰ Golden 1992, 313. See also Humphreys 1993, liv: "We may (to a limited extent) choose our perspectives for comparison, but cannot escape from taking responsibility for the choice and for the values and interests which motivate it." For more on this responsibility, see Hamel 1980. For the limitations of the comparative approach in this respect, see Eadie 1977.

⁷¹ See also Golden 1992, 324.

⁷² E.g. Ghurye 1951; Fabri 1960; Dar 1969; Ramanujan 1984; Cohn 1989; Maheswari 1995; Bhatnagar 2004; Bhandari 2005. Tarlo's 1996 comprehensive study of dress in northern India has provided a great deal of material for the discussion of dress behaviour in the Rhine-Moselle region in chapter 5.

⁷³ Pliny, *HN* 3.39-41. Trans. John Bostock, London 1855. Many other ancient sources confirm this view of the Roman 'civilising mission', such as Strabo's *Geography*, in which he regularly refers to previously barbaric peoples who had been civilised by the hand of Rome (see e.g. Strabo 4.1.12 and other similar passages relating to Gaul summarised in Woolf 1998, 50-53) and Tacitus' famous description of the 'civilising' of the Britons (Tac., *Agr.* 21).

previous regional contexts allowed and, at the same time, to exercise their superiority over their own peoples.⁷⁴ A comparable disposition of the British in later 19th cent. India (and elsewhere) enabled the Indian elite to be integrated into an Empire-wide hierarchical system that strove to preserve traditional structures both in Britain and its colonies and which linked the elites of the Empire to one another, while serving to distance them from their respective inferiors.⁷⁵

Moreover, largely in response to the experience of Empire, both India and Gaul showed signs of developing a pan-regional identity that, as we shall see, expressed itself in clothing. In the dress behaviour of both India and the Rhine-Moselle region, fashion does not appear to play anywhere near as important a role as cultural allegiance. As such, it changes slowly and purposefully, not rapidly and erratically, as is generally the case with fashion.⁷⁶ Also, both India and northern Gaul boasted a thriving cloth industry that played a role in commercial links with the imperial core.⁷⁷ Finally, both cases display a similar, if reversed, tension in dress behaviour, and the attitudes surrounding it, between draped garments on the one hand, and fitted garments on the other.

In general, British rule and subsequent 'modernisation' in India resulted in changes in the agrarian structure, the development of new urban, administrative, commercial and industrial centres and the establishment of a new educational framework causing new occupational mobility. Eisenstadt has described India as a society that was highly adaptable to changing political situations; it could select elements of a new culture and accommodate them within the existing cultural and political framework (as opposed to outright resistance or complete subjugation).⁷⁸ Interestingly, he sees these types of societies as the most stable in the face of major cultural and political change because the basic superstructure of the culture was not bound to any particular political framework, but could continue as a stable system despite dramatic political changes. As a result, India achieved relative prosperity by taking what was useful from Western modernity, even after independence. In many ways, the Roman history of northern Gaul, after initial violent resistance, reveals a similar resilience on the part of its population and an ability to thrive by adopting a great deal of what was

useful from Rome, but doing so largely on its own terms.

However, there are many differences between India and Gaul. One part of India had already experienced a form of imperial rule under the Moguls by the time the British gained control. A comparable situation did not exist in northern Gaul. As a result, the transition from the former state to imperial territory was a vastly different experience. Also, in the initial period of British commercial activity in India, European traders are known to have adopted Indian dress. It was only when large numbers of Europeans and, most importantly, their families descended on the region that European dress was retained (or resumed). Subsequently, the British showed a great deal of disapproval at Indians adopting Western dress because that was seen as an unacceptable blurring of cultural lines, and encouraged them not to do so.⁷⁹ There is no evidence for either of these phenomena in our region of the Roman Empire. While we cannot know whether some early Mediterranean immigrants to the Rhine-Moselle region 'went native', there is evidence in written Roman sources that the adoption of Roman dress, particularly the toga, by provincials was a source of pride at Rome.⁸⁰ Moreover, although the social structure of northern Gaul and the Rhineland was highly stratified, the caste system of India is peculiar to that region and cannot be equated with other social systems offhand. Finally, the role of women in pre-British Indian society was far more separate and concealed than is likely to have been the case in pre-Roman Gaul or Germany. While Westernisation has gradually brought about an increasing visibility and agency of Indian women, Roman influence is likely, if anything, to have had the opposite effect in the north-western Empire.

While Roman imperialism cannot be equated with modern European colonialism or Westernisation offhand, it is equally wrong to view our own experience of modernisation and the spread of Western values as natural, given and universal.⁸¹ Comparison can help by widening the chronological perspective. In fact, it is only from a comparative perspective that we can recognise the particularity of any historical situation.⁸² The debate surrounding comparison can be summarised as a tension between two indisputable facts: that history is a continuum of the experience of the human species, and that no two human societies and historical periods will ever be entirely alike. Comparative work, and indeed historical research in general, needs to strike a balance between these two perspectives in order to be able to deliver material that is both relevant and historically faithful. The fact that an increasing number of anthropological works have managed to gain insights into cultural processes through studying dress behaviour is of obvious relevance to our attempt at understanding such processes in the Roman provinces. Griffin has argued for an increased recognition by social and cultural historians of examples and theories

⁷⁴ See especially Woolf 1998, 24–76; 104; Hingley 2005, 54–71.

⁷⁵ For the British Empire see Cannadine 2001, who argues that the British preoccupation with hierarchy and its use of it to control territory even intensified and strengthened the traditional class framework in some parts of India against the growing progressive forces of equality that were emanating from the cities. The degree of integration within this empire-wide elite was, of course, not identical in the Roman and British Empires. The modern concept of race, for example, which was so fundamental to the nature of British imperial rule, did not exist in the Roman Empire (or at least not in this form, see, e.g., Sherwin-White 1967). For elite 'imperial culture' in the Roman Empire, see, *inter alia*, Woolf 1998 and Wallace-Hadrill 2008. For the 'Romanisation' of the provincial elites see Brunt 1976.

⁷⁶ See Tarlo 1996, 17.

⁷⁷ For India see Irwin/Schwarz 1966; Cohn 1989; Goody 1982. For Gaul see Roche-Bernard 1993; Schwinden 1989.

⁷⁸ His categories are more numerous and complicated than I have depicted. See Eisenstadt 1973, 283; 288; 329.

⁷⁹ Ehrenfels 1979; Tarlo 1996, 13.

⁸⁰ See, e.g., Tac., *Agr.* and *Suet.*, *Iul.* 80 (cited above).

⁸¹ Cf. Eisenstadt 1973, 358.

⁸² See also Humphreys 1993, liii.

from anthropology as well as of dress as a cultural indicator:

Treated ‘anthropologically’, a cultural history which takes seriously the realm where the aesthetic impinges on the political [i.e. dress] is far from being a mere (and typically feminine) complement or fashion accessory to ‘real’ (masculine) history. ... [W]hat people wear to conceal and expose their persons can take the historian to the core of complex social and political processes of stability and change, conformism and challenge to the status quo.⁸³

But were the Romans really as preoccupied with dress as members of the more recent societies anthropologists study? There is abundant evidence that this was the case. One could, in fact, argue that the Romans were particularly preoccupied with dress. Sartorial symbolism was used to a much greater degree by the Romans than any modern society I am aware of. *Anulo aureo donari* was to acquire equestrian rank; to assume the *sagum* was to prepare for war; a common ditty sung to celebrate the subjugation of the Gauls described them as having taken off their trousers and replaced them with the *laticlavus*.⁸⁴ *Stolata* was a common adjective used to denote female respectability, *togata* was its antonym. Distinctive clothing is used to distinguish Romans from ‘barbarians’ on, for example, Trajan’s Column and the Arch of Constantine.⁸⁵ In his list of markers of Roman culture taken on by the Britons, Tacitus claims that the Roman style of dress came to be worn and the toga could be seen everywhere.⁸⁶ In *Naturalis Historia*, Pliny identifies Transalpine Gaul as *Gallia Bracata*,⁸⁷ trousers being for him the distinguishing mark of the identity of the Transalpine Gauls.⁸⁸ Recent studies, largely based on literary evidence, of the role of dress in the functioning of the social order in Roman Italy reveal a society practically obsessed with appearances and dress.⁸⁹

Finally, before leaving this discussion, it is necessary to clarify the choice of terms used to describe sartorial behaviour, as they have been the subject of a great deal of debate in sociological and anthropological literature, and have implications for the way we approach dress in the ancient world.

Fashion: most sociologists speak of this phenomenon starting in the 14th cent. in the court of Burgundy.⁹⁰ Davis sees it as “exclusively a product of Western civilization”, going on to say it “is absent from premodern folk and tribal societies; nor, for that matter, did it exist in other high cultures and civilizations of the past like those of

ancient Egypt and China.”⁹¹ It is seen by Entwistle as “a special system of dress, one that is historically and geographically specific to Western modernity.”⁹² These authors stress the element of rapid, regular and conscious change in what we call fashion⁹³ which is not, in their opinion, present in ancient or other modern societies. This rapid ‘change for change’s sake’ is closely linked to mercantile capitalism and consumerism and the social mobility it enabled.⁹⁴ But ‘change for change’s sake’ does in fact occur in Roman dress behaviour,⁹⁵ albeit less in the style of garments than in the manner of wearing one’s hair and beard, facilitated throughout the empire by the distribution of coins bearing the heads of emperors and members of their families, who were the trendsetters of their day. In the context of the Roman provinces, one could argue that the adoption of Roman dress and hairstyles was a manifestation of fashion, while the retention of native dress was a sign of what Polhemus and Proctor call ‘anti-fashion’.⁹⁶ Roman provincial society was also arguably characterised by an element of social mobility that most sociologists claim solely for Western modernism. The term ‘fashion’ is, consequently, conditionally applicable to dress behaviour in the Roman Empire and will be used in this study only to denote dress choice that appears to alter consciously and as a result of ‘change for change’s sake’.

Costume: This term has been used largely in historical contexts or to refer to traditional garments, such as academic or clerical robes.⁹⁷ According to Hiler and Hiler, “[c]lothing is bodily covering; costume, raiment”,⁹⁸ highlighting the practical character of the term ‘clothing’ and the decorative character of the term ‘costume’. It was also the word often used in older anthropological literature to refer to ‘traditional’ attire in non-Western societies and, as such, has more recently been considered somewhat patronising. Anthropologists expressed a need for an all-inclusive term to describe “all things people do to or put on their bodies”.⁹⁹ More recently, the word ‘dress’, together with the term ‘adornment’, have been used in anthropological literature because they “stand out as the most descriptive and inclusive”.¹⁰⁰ Although they are seen as synonymous, the term ‘dress’ “not only signifies the apparel worn by men and women but also refers to the

⁸³ Griffin 2002, 225.

⁸⁴ Suet., *Jul.* 80. See also the section ‘The trousers’ in chapter 4 below.

⁸⁵ See Ferris 2000, 63–70, esp. 66; 128–133; figs 13–16 and 32.

⁸⁶ Tacitus, *Agricola* 21.

⁸⁷ From *bracae* = trousers, see discussion in ‘The trousers’ in chapter 4 below.

⁸⁸ Plin., *HN* 3.31.

⁸⁹ See, e.g., Cleland/Harlow/Llewellyn-Jones 2005; Edmondson/Keith 2008.

⁹⁰ Davis 1992, 17. See also Entwistle 2000, 43ff.

⁹¹ Davis 1992, 16, note 8.

⁹² Entwistle 2000, 43.

⁹³ Davis 1992, 14: “Clearly any definition of *fashion* seeking to grasp what distinguishes it from style, custom, conventional or acceptable dress, or prevalent modes must place its emphasis on the element of *change* we often associate with the term.”

⁹⁴ See also Bell 1947; Flügel 1930; Polhemus/Proctor 1978; Veblen 1953.

⁹⁵ The only social scientist I have come across that recognises this is König 1973, 49. Barnes/Eicher (1992, 23) have a much broader, and, in my view, meaningless definition of fashion as ‘dress which changes’. All dress changes eventually. It is rapidity and arbitrariness that distinguishes fashion from dress generally.

⁹⁶ I.e. deliberate conservatism and emphasis on continuity. Polhemus/Proctor 1978.

⁹⁷ See Entwistle 2000, 41.

⁹⁸ Hiler/Hiler 1939, xii.

⁹⁹ Polhemus/Proctor 1978, 9. See Entwistle 2000, 40; 43 and Roach/Eicher 1965, 1.

¹⁰⁰ Roach/Eicher 1965, 1.

act of covering the body with clothes and accessories” whereas “adornment stresses the aesthetic aspects of altering the body.”¹⁰¹

In the present study, the focus will be on clothing, as opposed to hairstyles, footwear or jewellery, so that the term ‘adornment’ is misleading, and the term ‘dress’, although used, must be understood to pertain mainly to clothing in a narrower sense. The term ‘costume’ is avoided for similar reasons to those stated by anthropologists. While to them the term ‘costume’ implied the dress being referred was in some way ornamental, static, quaint and ethnically pure, the (continued!) use of this term in Roman studies imbues Roman dress with a sense of lofty timelessness and uniformity that belies the extraordinary variety of dress behaviour in the Roman Empire over space and time, and the very real and flexible use to which it was put in the definition of social and cultural identities. The image of the eternal Roman in his white toga is, to a large extent, a fantasy. Roman garments were colourful, often dirty, almost always patched and frayed, and divested with real and complex meanings that are of utmost relevance to anyone interested in the lives of everyday people.

The chronological scope of the study

The time span of this study, from the beginning of the 1st cent. to the beginning of the 4th cent. AD, has been chosen as a result of the source base on the one hand, and historical cohesion on the other. Figurative depictions on funerary monuments begin to appear in the Rhine-Moselle region at the start of the 1st cent. AD, at a time when Roman rule in the region was in the process of consolidation following a largely inactive period since Caesar’s initial conquest. Unlike many other parts of the Roman Empire, the Rhine-Moselle region saw a continuous production of figurative funerary monuments throughout the 1st, 2nd and 3rd centuries.¹⁰² With the exception of the Batavian Revolt of 69/70, this largely peaceful period was also characterised by relatively secure Roman rule and economic stability until the upheavals of the late 3rd cent.

The final period from the 260s to the early 4th cent. was a time of transition in our region, largely as a result of incursions by groups of people from across the Rhine that wrought widespread damage and disturbed the social and economic status quo. The popularity of portraits on gravestones declined rapidly in the late 3rd cent. and they were increasingly replaced by the imagery of Christianity, the new religion. As larger groups from across the Rhine began to settle in the region, new cultural dynamics were set in motion, while links to the Roman core weakened. In terms of dress history, new influences on civilian clothing from the Transrhene settlers on the

one hand, and from the military on the other, both led to a gradual but fundamental change in the way people dressed.¹⁰³ This period does, however, show a certain amount of continuity with the preceding period both in terms of dress behaviour and in the fact that portrait gravestones, although in decline, were still commissioned in the Treveran area until the early 4th cent. As a result, the total period covered by this study also extends until the portrait funerary monuments themselves disappear.

The geographical scope of the study

The Rhine-Moselle region lends itself to a study of dress behaviour as an expression of cultural processes for many reasons. Firstly, it has yielded a large number of gravestones with figurative depictions over a wide chronological period, virtually all of which have been published and discussed in mainly German and French corpora and journals. The geographical situation of the region is also ideal from a cultural perspective. It is located on the northern frontier of the Roman Empire at the point of contact between two large cultural spheres: the Celtic/La Tène to the south and the (Elbe-)Germanic to the north.¹⁰⁴

The Rhine-Moselle region is, however, by no means an historical entity. Rather, it is the term used by the author to denote the total geographical territory made up by the three areas that form the basis of the study.¹⁰⁵ As these three areas are adjacent to one another, they were strongly linked in terms of economy, politics, history and culture. They did, however, form separate entities. The ‘Treveran area’ is identical to the *civitas Treverorum*, the political district of Gallia Belgica derived originally from the tribal territory of the Treveri less its easternmost portion, which was severed from it in the 1st cent. AD to become part of Germania Superior. This latter portion is the ‘Middle Rhine area’ of this study. The ‘Ubian area’ of this study is the territory immediately north of the Middle Rhine area that was settled by the Transrhene Ubii in the late 1st cent. BC. Both the historical fact of their collective transferral and the unique cultural features this group of people display justify regarding it as a separate cultural entity. The three areas developed very differently from one another under Roman rule. It is for this reason that they represent ideal bodies for comparison.

¹⁰³ Wild 1985, 385. Dress behaviour in Italy was also changing at this time: hierarchy came to be expressed more clearly, and garments from the east and the north of the Empire became popular. According to Wild, “[t]he provinces had turned the tables on Rome.” See Wild 1985, 413; 1968b, 220ff.; Kolb 1974, 81f.; MacMullen 1963, 179f.; Delbrück 1929, 32ff.

¹⁰⁴ The author is aware that such sweeping generalisations are problematic. Cultural boundaries are drawn differently by archaeologists, linguists and historians based on their differing sources. Moreover, the Rhine-Moselle region encompasses areas that display smaller, distinct cultural regions in the pre-Roman period. Hachmann/Kossack/Kuhn (1962) expounded a theory that the population of the Middle and Lower Rhine consisted partly of survivors of a much earlier people that were gradually eclipsed by the larger cultures. This theory, though widely acknowledged, has not been built upon in more recent research. See Lund 1998 for an excellent systematic problematisation and discussion of the term and concept ‘German’.

¹⁰⁵ See Appendix I, Map 1.

¹⁰¹ Roach/Eicher 1965, 1.

¹⁰² Although this does not apply to all areas in the Rhine-Moselle region: funerary monument production at Mainz, for example, declined rapidly after AD 100.

a) The Treveran area

At the time of Caesar's conquest, the territory of the Treveri bordered on that of the Remi to the west, the Condrusi and Segni to the north and the Mediomatrici to the south.¹⁰⁶ The first workable description of its boundaries can be found in Caesar's *Gallic War*.¹⁰⁷ From this and other sources, including later diocese borders, Merten has been able to suggest a reconstruction of the original extent of the *civitas Treverorum* in Caesar's time. The boundary used in this study is based on her reconstruction.¹⁰⁸

The northern limits of the *civitas Treverorum* ran through the middle of the Ardennes and the Eifel to the Rhine in the east, where that river formed the eastern boundary. The southern border left the Rhine below Mainz and followed the River Nahe virtually to its source before turning south-west towards the River Saar just north of Saarbrücken. It then ran west across the Moselle to the River Meuse before turning north again towards the Ardennes.¹⁰⁹ It was thus, in comparison to other Gallic *civitates*, a very large area, reflecting the prominent position the Treveri held in Gaul that is clear in Caesar's commentaries. The north and the south-east are mountainous areas (Eifel and Hunsrück) with large forests, and the middle and western sections comprise of rolling hills and fertile river valleys. Two important rivers (Moselle, Meuse) flow through the territory and were important factors in its economic development.

Caesar's narrative gives a number of valuable insights into Treveran society and its role in the region in the period immediately before the Gallic War. The area is described as *civitas Treverorum*, indicating a certain level of tribal cohesion and common identity. The inhabitants are said to be ruled by *principes* and armed *nobiles*, comprised of aristocratic families competing with one another for power over the tribe. It is also evident from Caesar's text that the Treveri were one of the more dominant tribes in Gaul: their cavalry were "by far the most powerful in all Gaul" (some were sent to Caesar as auxiliaries) and they had strong infantry. They held a position of patronage over neighbouring tribes and when the Treveran Indutiomarus calls an uprising against the Roman occupation, many of the neighbouring tribes participate.¹¹⁰

The strong relations between the Treveri and both the Cisrhene and Transrhene Germans are a recurring theme in Caesar's text. He says their close proximity meant that the Treveri differed little from the Germans in their barbarity and lack of discipline,¹¹¹ but he always refers to them as a Gallic tribe.¹¹² Tacitus states that the Treveri and Nervii were eager to profess Germanic origins.¹¹³ There is, however, no other evidence to suggest the Treveri were in any way a Germanic tribe. In fact, the ethnicity of Caesar's *Germani cisrhene* is equally unclear. Although material culture should not necessarily be equated with ethnicity, the artefactual evidence from the region in the centuries leading up to Caesar's conquest shows a mixture of cultural elements from the older, independent Hunsrück-Eifel-Kultur (HEK) and late La Tène and shows strong similarities to the prevailing Transrhene material culture, calling into question Caesar's characterisation of the Rhine as a cultural boundary.¹¹⁴ Generally, however, late La Tène prevailed in the area, as it seems to have done among the *Germani cisrhene*, although evidence here is more sparse.¹¹⁵ Onomastic evidence shows the native Treveran language also to be Celtic¹¹⁶ and Celtic names are encountered in the area well into the late Roman period. St. Jerome mentioned in his commentary on Galatians that the language of the latter was 'almost identical' to that of the Treveri, who he had visited in 366.¹¹⁷

The frequent mention of the Treveri by Caesar credits them with an important role in the Gallic War. The fluctuation between loyalty and resistance described in the narrative stemmed, like in other Gallic tribes, from a swinging balance of power within the Treveran nobility between a pro- and an anti-Caesarian party. After initial cooperation,¹¹⁸ the Treveri revolted in 54. During the suppression of this rebellion by Labienus in the following year, its leader Indutiomarus was killed but his family fled to the other side of the Rhine and the pro-Caesarian Cingetorix took control.¹¹⁹ The period of quiet that followed (the Treveri did not take part in Vercingetorix's uprising in 52¹²⁰) was broken later in Caesar's narrative when in 51 Labienus was again sent to suppress Treveran dissidents.¹²¹ It was to the land of the Treveri that Caesar called his legions at the end of the Gallic War, perhaps

¹⁰⁶ Caes., *B Gall.* 5.24; 6.32; Strabo 4.3.4-5.

¹⁰⁷ Especially Caes., *B Gall.* 3.11; 5.24; 6.29; 6.32; 6.44.

¹⁰⁸ Merten 1985. Gravestones from a number of places outside Merten's boundary have also been included (Jünkerath, St. Wendel and Sien), as they display strong links in style and form with the monuments of the Treveran territory, suggesting that either Merten's boundary is inaccurate (which she herself admits is possible) or that these places had stronger cultural links to Trier than anywhere in their own territory. It is also possible that these stones originally stood inside the *civitas*, and were moved later to serve as building material. This is most likely to be the case for the stones from Jünkerath which were found in the wall of the town's late Roman *castellum*.

¹⁰⁹ See Appendix I, Map 2. For more detail see especially Merten 1985 but also Rau 1937, Ewig 1952 and Hachmann 1976.

¹¹⁰ Caes., *B Gall.* 2.24; 4.6; 5.3.

¹¹¹ Caes., *B Gall.* 8.25.

¹¹² E.g. Caes., *B Gall.* 2.24; 5.3; 7.63.

¹¹³ ... *tamquam per hanc gloriam sanguinis a similitudine et inertia Gallorum separentur*: Tac., *Germ.* 28.

¹¹⁴ Caes., *B Gall.* 1.1. See also Wightman 1970, 18.

¹¹⁵ If the *Germani cisrhene* were in fact ethnically separate, they nonetheless seem to have adopted Celtic names by the 1st cent. BC: e.g. Ambiorix, a chief of the Eburones.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Indutiomarus and Cingetorix, the two named Treveran nobles in the *Bellum Gallicum* but also names on gravestones (e.g. cat. no. T14, T32, T60, T62, T71, T156, T160).

¹¹⁷ Jer., *Comm. in epistolam ad Galatas* 2.3: *Galatas excepto sermone Graeco ... propriam linguam eandem pene habere quam Treviros*.

¹¹⁸ Caes., *B Gall.* 1.37; 2.24.

¹¹⁹ Caes., *B Gall.* 5.2; 5.55ff.; 6.2; 6.8.

¹²⁰ Caes., *B Gall.* 7.63.

¹²¹ Caes., *B Gall.* 8.45.

because this symbolic event held special weight when held in the territory of one of the more defiant tribes.¹²²

Very little of the fate of the region can be gleaned from written sources between Caesar and Augustus' German offensive. The Treveri and their German allies apparently rose up again in 29 BC, and Nonius Gallus was sent to deal with them.¹²³ Archaeological evidence shows Roman activity was otherwise limited to a standing occupation force, comprised mostly of Gauls (one of whose garrisons lay on the Petrisberg overlooking the site of the future city of Trier), and the foundation of three colonies much further south.¹²⁴ When Gaul was divided into four provinces in 27 BC, the *civitas Treverorum* formed part of Gallia Belgica. When the focus shifted eastward during Augustus' German offensive, most of the troops that had been stationed in Treveran territory were moved to the Rhine. A network of roads was established in this period, and the major long-distance routes that ran through the territory (Lyon-Cologne, Reims-Mainz) formed nuclei for future settlements.¹²⁵ At this time also, two military zones were established on the Rhine, the later provinces Germania Inferior and Superior. This measure resulted in the loss of the eastern section of Treveran territory: henceforth they were no longer those, *qui proximi flumini Rheno sunt*.¹²⁶

The Treveri continued to show resistance to Roman rule until the Flavian period: In AD 21, they rebelled (with the Aedui) under their nobleman Julius Florus, but were suppressed by another local nobleman Julius Indus and two Roman legions.¹²⁷ In AD 69 the Treveri again played an important role in the 'Batavian' Revolt, this time under the leadership of Julius Classicus.¹²⁸ What ensued formed a turning point in Treveran history. After the rebellion was put down the famed Treveran cavalry was disbanded and there appears to have been a change of guard in the Treveran nobility that corresponds in dating to the so-called 'disappearance of the Gallic Julii' identified by scholars for Gaul in this period.¹²⁹ The years, indeed centuries, that followed saw no more major rebellions on the part of the Treveri and the consolidation of both Roman infrastructure and a stable economy. Not

until the upheavals of the second half of the 3rd cent. was this relative stability disturbed, when incursions from across the Rhine began to have a profound effect on the social and economic fabric of the region. This is mirrored not only in the sharp decline in the frequency and quality of our main source, relief gravestones, but also in their subsequent fate as building material for the *castella* erected throughout the region in the late Roman period for protection for both the military and civilian population.

The settlement pattern of the *civitas Treverorum* was varied. The city of Trier evolved or was founded during the course of Augustus' German campaign,¹³⁰ possibly on the basis of a former settlement, near a strategically important bridge across the Moselle on the road from Lyon to the Rhine.¹³¹ It received the name *Augusta Treverorum* and, at some stage in the first half of the 1st cent. AD, came to be known as a *colonia*.¹³² This title has been the subject of some dispute among scholars as it is obvious that Trier was in fact never a colony in the original sense; it appears to have been an honorary title of some description.¹³³ The legal status of Trier's residents is equally unclear.¹³⁴ In any case, it rapidly came to function as the political and economic centre of the *civitas*, although it is not clear how quickly it developed the architectural and cultural elements of a Mediterranean city. Mela, somewhat unreliably, described the city in the 40s AD as an *urbs opulentissima*,¹³⁵ while excavations have shown that Trier's first major civic building projects began at the turn of the 1st/2nd centuries (amphitheatre: ca. 100; Moselle Bridge, city walls with Porta Nigra: mid 2nd cent.; Barbara Baths and several major temples: 2nd cent.). Possibly in this period, definitely by the mid 3rd cent., Trier succeeded Reims as the capital of Belgica, although it is likely to have been the more important commercial city in the province for some time.

Small *vici* as resting stations and market settlements also emerged along the Roman roads. Many were built on the

¹²² Caes., *B Gall.* 8.52.

¹²³ Cass. Dio 51.20.5.

¹²⁴ Lyon-Lugdunum, Nyon-Noviodunum, Augst-Augusta Raurica.

¹²⁵ This must have at least partially involved reinforcing older roads rather than building brand new ones. It is a matter of some controversy whether this occurred in the first (39-38 BC) or the second (20-18 BC) proconsulship of Agrippa in Gaul. See Chevallier 1972, 183-185; Wightman 1977, 107; Drinkwater 1983, 124-126.

¹²⁶ Caes., *B Gall.* 3.11.

¹²⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 3.40-42. The reasons Tacitus cites are *ob magnitudinem aeris alieni* and the *saevitia ac superbia* of the governors. Heinen has interpreted Tacitus' mention of the *continuatio tributorum* as indicating that the Treveri were asked to contribute considerably towards the German wars, and were upset when this obligation continued after the end of the offensive under Tiberius (Heinen 1985, 60).

¹²⁸ The details of this episode are related by Tacitus in books 4 and 5 of the *Historiae*.

¹²⁹ See Wightman 1970, 50ff. and Drinkwater 1978 with their respective explanations and reservations as to the extent of this 'disappearance'. It is likely that many members of the 'anti-Roman' faction of the Treveran nobility fled to the *Germani transrhrenani* after the Batavian Revolt was put down. See Tac. *Hist.* 5.19 and Heinen 1985, 80.

¹³⁰ The exact date of its foundation is not known, but it is likely to have been around 17 BC. See Heinen 1985, 41-53.

¹³¹ See Haffner 1984; Heinen 1985, 41ff.

¹³² Tac. *Hist.* 4.62. See also epigraphical evidence: *AE* 1968, 321; *AE* 1979, 418.

¹³³ Wightman 1976 even goes so far as to say that the title *colonia* was used, but never officially bestowed.

¹³⁴ For the argument that they continued to have peregrine status, see Kahrstedt 1951 and Krier 1981. For the argument that they received either the minor or major Latin citizenship, see Vittinghoff 1951, 480ff. and Wolff 1977. The *civitas Treverorum* had obtained the status of *civitas libera* at the end of the Gallic War, but lost it again according to an ambiguous passage in Pliny (*HN* 4.106). For a summary of the debate see Heinen 1985, 61-66.

¹³⁵ Pompon. Mela 3.20. In fact, it is one of only three Gallic cities he names. However, Mela's depiction follows a strict adherence to a structure surrounding the number three: he says there are three main rivers in Gaul and three major peoples (the Aquitani, the Celtae and the Belgae), each of these peoples has a respective main tribe, and each of these tribes a respective main city. As the Treveri are cited as the main tribe of Belgica, it is not difficult to see how the city of Trier came to be one of the three named. The word *opulentissima* may also merely express the fact that Trier was the most important city of the Treveri. Moreover, Mela does not mention much larger cities in Gaul like Lyon. See also Heinen 1985, 52f.

sites of pre-Roman settlements,¹³⁶ and some grew to a considerable size, such as *Orolaunum*-Arlon in the west of the *civitas* on the crossing of the roads from Reims to Trier and from Metz to Tongeren and Cologne, which grew to become its second most important town. The rolling hillsides of the west and the river valleys in the Treveran area (including especially the environs of Arlon and Trier) were under intensive use by villa estates, in some areas well into late antiquity.¹³⁷ The higher ground with its dense forest was more sparsely settled with smaller farmsteads and less intensive cultivation.

b) The Middle Rhine area

Unlike the Ubian and Treveran areas, the second region, the Middle Rhine area, is not an obvious cultural unit, and the boundaries that I have constructed for it require a more detailed explanation. The Middle Rhine area is bordered in the north by the Ubian area, in the east by the Rhine, in the west by the *civitas Treverorum*, and in the south by a line running south of Bad Kreuznach and Selzen.¹³⁸ Although perhaps seemingly arbitrary, this region was, in reality, a relatively cohesive unit.

Firstly, it was the portion of the original Treveran territory that was detached in the Augustan period to form part of the Rhine military zone,¹³⁹ and, at the end of the 1st cent., became the northern part of the province Germania Superior. Its legal status until the end of the 1st cent. is unknown. It may still have, officially at least, belonged to the *civitas Treverorum*, except for the territory surrounding the legionary fortress at Mainz, the forts and the main roads. It is, however, more likely that the entire area stood under the direct control of the military commander at Mainz.¹⁴⁰ It appears to have been populated by sub-tribes of the Treveri, of which one, the Aresaces, mentioned in various inscriptions,¹⁴¹ seems to have occupied not only Mainz itself, but perhaps most or all of the area, although another local group, the Cairracasi, has yet to be located.¹⁴² Some inhabitants may have

been disturbed by the separation of their area from the original Treveran territory: in an inscription from Weisenau, the *natio Treverensis* is deliberately emphasised.¹⁴³ In any case, inscriptions from the area testify to continued links with the Treveran territory long after separation.¹⁴⁴

Secondly, various factors link all the major findspots for the grave monuments in this area with Mainz. Many of them (Koblenz, Andernach, Bingen) were military posts almost certainly manned by soldiers sent from, and under direct control of, the military headquarters at Mainz.¹⁴⁵ Also, the indigenous, so-called Menimane's, dress ensemble appears exclusively on gravestones in this area¹⁴⁶ and stylistic elements of the stones suggest many of them were commissioned to the so-called Blussus workshop in Mainz.¹⁴⁷

The impression given by the archaeological evidence is that the area was originally relatively sparsely inhabited in the form of very small La Tène settlements producing agricultural goods for local consumption.¹⁴⁸ *Mogontiacum*-Mainz was founded as a double legionary camp in around 13 BC at a strategic spot on a high plateau¹⁴⁹ across the Rhine from the mouth of its largest tributary, the Main. It was the starting point for Drusus' operations in Germany of 10/9 BC. Tiberius divided the Rhine army into an 'upper' and a 'lower' force, each with its respective zone. Mainz became the seat of the commander of the upper zone. In the same period, a second large military camp was established nearby at Weisenau and probably housed auxiliary troops although it did, for some time, quarter a legion.¹⁵⁰ *Castella* were established along the Rhine at *Bingium*-Bingen, *castellum apud Confluentes*-Koblenz and *Antunnacum*-Andernach (which became a base for the *classis*). *Cruciniacum*-Bad Kreuznach was established as a supply station between Mainz and Trier roughly on the border between the Treveran territory and the Mainz military zone. It has been included in this area because the archaeological evidence suggests the strongest economic ties of Bad Kreuznach and its surrounding, villa-rich countryside were with

¹³⁶ Examples include Virton-*Vertunum* in Belgium, Dalheim-*Ricciacus*, Wasserbillig and Mamer in Luxembourg, and Neumagen-*Noviomagus*, Bitburg-*Beda* and Wederath-*Belginum* in Germany, although see Heinen 1985, 130f. for the possibility that *Belginum* was severed from the *civitas Treverorum* when the Rhine provinces were formed.

¹³⁷ Indeed, Ausonius' idyllic description of the lush villa landscape in *Mosella* 10-42 refers to the area around Trier.

¹³⁸ See Appendix I, Map 3.

¹³⁹ See section a) above.

¹⁴⁰ See Wightman 1970, 126f.

¹⁴¹ First collated by Klumbach 1959 and recently summarised by Boppert 1992b, 11. *CIL* XIII 11825 names the Aresaces as Roman trade partners.

¹⁴² Klumbach 1959, 70-75; Decker/Selzer 1976, 463f.; Kronmayer 1983, 182. Schumacher thinks it more likely that the Aresaces were not a part of the Treveri but a small, autonomous group (Schumacher 1983, 32ff.). See also Boppert 1992b, 10 and note 44. Wightman 1970, 126f., drawing on older literature that wrongly placed the Vangiones from the east of the Rhine in this area, suggests the possibility that these groups came from the other side of the Rhine. Religious and other connections with the Treveri as attested by various inscriptions make this unlikely, as she herself admits. An inscription from Mainz mentions a *civis Cairracas*: Wightman 1970, 126f. Cf. Tacitus' mention of *Caeracates* (*Hist.* 4.70).

¹⁴³ *CIL* XIII 11888.

¹⁴⁴ E.g. explicitly: *CIL* XIII 7516a & 11888, Klumbach 1959, pl. X,2; based on onomastics: *CIL* XIII 11876 & *MZ* 35 1940, 79 no.1. See also Klumbach's 1959 discussion of the Aresaces.

¹⁴⁵ Decker/Selzer 1976, 468.

¹⁴⁶ With the exception of one stone from Xanten (*CIL* XIII, 8655; *CSIR* III,1 no. 22), the inscription on which, however, states that the people depicted are Treveri.

¹⁴⁷ Although this has not yet been proven conclusively for some of the sites: the stones from Andernach, Bingen-Bingerbrück, Nickenich and Koblenz were traditionally assumed to have been made in the Blussus workshop (Kutsch 1930, 273-275; Klumbach 1959, 75; Bauchhenß 1975, 82f., 91-93). But stylistic considerations have led some to suggest the possibility of another workshop at Koblenz (Bauchhenß 1975, 93 ff.). Kutsch put minor differences in style from the ones in Mainz itself down to different employees of the Blussus workshop, not down to a different workshop (Kutsch 1930, 275). See also Boppert 1991, 92; 1992b, 46f.

¹⁴⁸ Pre-Roman settlements in the Mainz area have been identified at Bretzenheim, to the west, and Weisenau, 4km to the south.

¹⁴⁹ The so-called 'Kästrich'.

¹⁵⁰ Boppert 1992b, 10f. See Heinzl 1971 for results of the excavations at Weisenau and Witteyer 1995 for an overview of the settlement.

Mainz.¹⁵¹

The military history of the region is naturally focussed on Mainz. The 1st cent. (to which most of our stones date) was the most turbulent and the legionary camp at Mainz was involved in many of the martial episodes of that century. Between 13 BC and the end of the 1st cent. AD, no fewer than five emperors (or future emperors), 11 different legions and 24 different auxiliary units spent time at Mainz.¹⁵² It was only after Domitian's war with the Chatti in 83-85 (which started from Mainz) that the region began to experience a measure of stability and calm. Military operations across the Rhine all but ended, and the military zones became provinces, the Upper becoming Germania Superior, with Mainz as its capital. The zone commander became the governor of the province. At the same time, the front was moved to a line approximately 10km to the east of the Rhine. Mainz and the other military stations along the Rhine were no longer frontier garrisons, but hinterland settlements. Military presence fell dramatically: at Mainz, for example, in contrast to the two, three and, from AD 9-17, even four legions stationed there previously, only one legion was based there from 92 onwards, the XXII *Primigenia*, which was to remain in Mainz until the 4th cent.

Canabae and *vici* appeared around the army camps. In Mainz, several were established, scattered, without any appearance of cohesion, between and around the camps on the Kästrich and at Weisenau. The lack of cohesion appears also to have extended to the civilian population. Most of the troops in the 1st cent. were recruited from northern Italy and Narbonese Gaul.¹⁵³ Many inhabitants of the civilian settlements were also immigrant families of soldiers, artisans and businessmen.¹⁵⁴ They will easily have eclipsed the local native population in numbers. Funerary evidence however shows that, at least at Weisenau, the vast majority of inhabitants of the *vicus* in the 1st cent. were natives.¹⁵⁵

Even in the more quiet 2nd and early 3rd centuries, when troop presence decreased and Mainz began to acquire major urban architecture, it remained defined by its military element. As elsewhere, the governor of the province was also the highest military commander. However, even with only one legion occupying it, the double camp was still used, even expanded and, unusually, most of the large, prestigious buildings of the provincial administration were integrated into the camp.¹⁵⁶ This, and the general decrease in activity when the frontier was moved and many of the soldiers left, appears to have presented an obstacle to Mainz evolving into a thriving cultural centre

like Cologne or Trier.¹⁵⁷ Although there was a gradual concentration of settlement in the area between the castra and the bridge across the Rhine to its north-east, archaeological evidence shows a largely dispersed and incoherent settlement pattern for Mainz until the 4th cent.

Mainz' legal status is not confirmed in any inscription. The first mention of a *civitas Mogontiacum* appears on a votive inscription from the era of Diocletian.¹⁵⁸ Ammianus Marcellinus (15.11.8) was the first to refer to Mogontiacum as a *municipium*, although it is possible that he used the word simply to mean 'town'. When Mainz may have received this status, if at all, is unknown, but the epigraphic silence suggests it may have been later rather than earlier.¹⁵⁹ So far, there is no epigraphic evidence in Mainz for *decuriones* (only of neighbouring areas), *cives Mogontiacenses* or an administration of a *civitas Mogontiacum*.¹⁶⁰ One explanation is that the most important administrative figures in the area were Italians and, as such, were buried in their hometowns in Italy.¹⁶¹

The period of peace that followed the late 1st cent. was first broken by incursions of Alemanni in the mid 3rd cent. From this time on, the army stationed at Mainz was directly involved in the various attempts to ward off the Germans. The city was finally destroyed by Vandals, Alani and Suebi on New Year's Eve in 406/407 after which settlement continued on a much smaller scale.

c) The Ubian area

The precise origins of the Ubii are as yet somewhat unclear. Weisgerber established that they were Germanic-speaking,¹⁶² but it has been suggested that they stemmed from a group of people that predated both the Celtic and the Germanic cultures in our region.¹⁶³ In Caesar's time, they lived on the right bank of the Rhine between the lower Lahn and the Taunus, directly across the river from the Treveri. Caesar called them Germans, but noted that they were familiar with the culture of their Gaulish neighbours. According to Caesar, the Ubian territory was large and prosperous and its inhabitants were involved in trade along the Rhine, but were under increasing pressure from the more powerful Suebi to the west.¹⁶⁴ At the time of the Treveran Revolt in 53 BC, the Suebian grip had still not loosened. The Ubii, anxious to prove their ongoing loyalty to Rome despite the behaviour of their neighbours, officially capitulated, sending hostages.¹⁶⁵ From this time on, the Ubii were instrumental in inform-

¹⁵¹ See Boppert 2000, 95ff. It is also possible, but unlikely, that it may have been part of the *civitas Vangionum* whose centre lay at Worms.

¹⁵² For a detailed military history and archaeological overview of Mogontiacum with details of military units see Decker/Selzer 1976; Selzer 1988 with tables on pages 70 and 71; Dumont/Scherf/Schütz 1998.

¹⁵³ Kronmayer 1983, 74, 76; Boppert 1992b, 15.

¹⁵⁴ As shown by Kronmayer 1983, 103. See also Schoppa 1963, 9.

¹⁵⁵ Decker/Selzer 1976, 469.

¹⁵⁶ Decker/Selzer 1976, 495; Selzer 1988, 36.

¹⁵⁷ See Schoppa 1963, 17-19 for a discussion of the diminishing significance of Mainz as an economic and cultural centre.

¹⁵⁸ *CIL* XIII 6727.

¹⁵⁹ See Boppert 1992b, 22 & note 102; Schoppa 1965, 54.

¹⁶⁰ See Kronmayer 1983, 65-67.

¹⁶¹ Boppert 1992b, 21 note 101. Eck (1991, 84) has also suggested that the strong influence of the military did not allow for the integration of local families into the administration.

¹⁶² E.g. Weisgerber 1968.

¹⁶³ See Hachmann/Kossack/Kuhn 1962.

¹⁶⁴ Caes., *B Gall.* 4.3. Apparently following a Ubian cry for help, Caesar embarked on his first Rhine crossing in 55 BC (*B Gall.* 4.16).

¹⁶⁵ Caes., *B Gall.* 6.9.

ing Caesar of Suebian movements.¹⁶⁶

At some point in the decades that followed, Agrippa resettled the Ubii to an area further north on the left bank of the Rhine that had previously been inhabited by the ill-fated Eburones. It is a point of some contention whether this occurred under Agrippa's first (39-38 BC) or second (20-19 BC) governorship of Gaul.¹⁶⁷ For the Ubii, the transfer was a chance to start a new life within the Roman Empire away from the Suebi; for the Romans it was a chance to secure a section the Rhine frontier by populating it with a friendly tribe.

The area settled by the Ubii in the late 1st cent. BC was identical to the later *ager Agrippinensium*, the territory of the city of Cologne (excluding the military zones surrounding the military bases along the Rhine). It stretched from the area of modern Krefeld in the north to the Vinxthbach in the south, which simultaneously formed the southern limits of Germania Inferior. The Rhine was its eastern boundary, to the west it extended to roughly the region of the River Rur.¹⁶⁸ With the exception of a thin strip of hills in the south, the area was situated entirely within the flat and very fertile loess plain known as the Kölner Bucht that opens from the narrow Rhine Valley to the south. While the majority of the area's population in the early 1st cent. AD were Ubii, it has been suggested that the original inhabitants, the Eburones, were never completely annihilated and that the Talliates, a group mentioned in an inscription from the south of the area,¹⁶⁹ were a small subgroup of the Eburones that survived Caesar's ravages.¹⁷⁰

The first settlements in the *civitas Ubiorum* were established at *Bonna*-Bonn and possibly *Novaesium*-Neuss,¹⁷¹ Dormagen and *Rigomagus*-Remagen, of which Bonn appears to have initially been the largest. Very soon afterwards, however, the *oppidum Ubiorum*,¹⁷² later *ara Ubiorum* (Cologne), was established, apparently *not* on the site of an earlier settlement,¹⁷³ and gained in importance at the expense of Bonn. Both Cologne and Bonn originally served as army bases, with two legions stationed at the former and auxiliary troops at the latter. Cologne was initially envisaged as the hub for the future province Germania, which was to be created as a result of Augustus' German campaigns. In the decades following the Varian disaster, however, as the Rhine was estab-

lished as the frontier, Cologne became a purely civilian settlement while Bonn and Neuss' military installations were expanded to house the *I Germanica* and *XX Valeria Victrix* respectively. The military role of Bonn and Neuss and the civilian character of Cologne were consolidated over the centuries that followed. Nonetheless, the commander of the lower Rhenane *exercitus* continued to operate from Cologne. A legionary camp and naval base was set up at Alteburg.

In AD 50 Cologne was made a *colonia* by Claudius, the title of which included the name of that emperor's wife who was born there, *Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium*, and was granted the *ius Italicum*.¹⁷⁴ It was probably as a result of this that Cologne was endowed with its first city wall. It quickly grew to be the most important political and commercial centre in the region and, when under Domitian the lower Rhine military zone became the province Germania Inferior, Cologne became the capital. Although archaeological work is hampered by the fact that the modern city of Cologne lies directly over its ancient predecessor, excavations have revealed the locations of the *praetorium*, the forum, a theatre, an amphitheatre, baths, a *circus* and several very large temples as well as parts of an impressive aqueduct that brought water from the Eifel, 100 km away.¹⁷⁵

Major roads in the area ran along the Rhine from Mainz in the south through Bonn and Cologne to Xanten in the north and from Cologne to Tongeren in the west and Trier and Reims in the south-west. Apart from the settlements on the Rhine at Cologne, Bonn, Remagen and Dormagen, smaller settlements were established inland on the major roadways, such as *Iuliacum*-Jülich on the road from Cologne to Tongeren, *Vicus Belgica*-Euskirchen-Billig on the road from Cologne to Trier and *Tolbiacum*-Zülpich, a *vicus* under administration from Cologne near the fork in the road to Trier and Reims. The latter is described by Tacitus as situated '*in finibus Agrippinensium*'¹⁷⁶ and is the only urban settlement outside Cologne and Bonn that has as yet yielded relief gravestones. The prosperity of Cologne coupled with the fertility of its surrounding countryside led to the foundation of an extraordinary number of *villae rusticae* in the Ubian area, many of which boasted their own family graveyards. These probably housed the few Ubian relief gravestones that do not come from Cologne, Bonn or Zülpich.

The prestigious position held by Cologne in the region and its swift integration into the Roman political and cultural system only presented real problems during the Batavian Revolt (see below), during which the Ubii managed to juggle appeasement of both the rebels and the Romans at alternating stages of the conflict, avoiding complete destruction by either side. When forced to do

¹⁶⁶ Caes., *B Gall.* 6.10; 6.29.

¹⁶⁷ For arguments for the first governorship, see Doppelfeld/Biegel/Bracker 1975, 718; Christ 1995, 71; Wolters 1990, 142-148 esp. 147f.; 2000, 25; Kienast 1999, 356; Bringmann/Schäfer 2002, 96. For arguments for the second governorship (based primarily on numismatic evidence), see Heinrichs 1999, 72; 2003, 336f.; Eck 2000, 92; Fischer 2001, 20.

¹⁶⁸ For these boundaries see Gechter 1991 with fig. 85.1 and Doppelfeld/Biegel/Bracker 1975, 732. In this study: Appendix I, Map 4.

¹⁶⁹ *CIL* XIII 7777.

¹⁷⁰ Doppelfeld/Biegel/Bracker 1975, 733.

¹⁷¹ For Neuss as a Ubian settlement at this time see Heinrichs 1999, 72-91. For doubts about this see Gechter 2003, 147.

¹⁷² This title does not reflect any resemblance to or connection with the Celtic *oppida*.

¹⁷³ For archaeological evidence see Doppelfeld/Biegel/Bracker 1975, 719.

¹⁷⁴ Eck 2004, 159.

¹⁷⁵ For a summary of the topography of Roman Cologne see Doppelfeld/Biegel/Bracker 1975, 728ff. For more recent surveys see, e.g., Carroll 2001 and Eck 2004.

¹⁷⁶ Tac., *Hist.* 4.79.

so, they catered to the insurrection, but fell away at the first available opportunity and subsequently played an important role in Civilis' and Classicus' downfall, thus ensuring the continued benevolence of the Roman state.¹⁷⁷ The almost two centuries that followed were a period of relative calm for the entire lower Rhine region and saw Cologne's steady rise to prosperity and opulence. It was the obvious choice as the capital of the Gallic Empire (260-274), and, in the second half of the 3rd cent., while the area around it fell victim to wave after wave of destruction by Transrhene tribes, was the only settlement in the region that was strong enough to survive relatively intact.¹⁷⁸ Some settlements in the Ubian area (e.g. *Tolbiacum*-Zülpich) appear to have been secured with *castella* like Neumagen and Arlon in the Treveran area.¹⁷⁹

These brief descriptions of the three areas under scrutiny in this study have shown how immensely varied the experiences of Roman rule could be for different provincial populations, even those in close geographical proximity. The varying historical scenarios inevitably influenced the momentum and character of cultural processes within these areas, and this is apparent in the disparate dress behaviour of the people of the Treveran, Middle Rhine and Ubian areas, as will be demonstrated in chapter 5 below.

¹⁷⁷ Tac., *Hist.* Book 4 offers a narrative of this period.

¹⁷⁸ See Schlippschuh 1974, 190.

¹⁷⁹ For Roman Zülpich see van der Broeck 1968.

3. THE SOURCES

Types of sources for dress in the Roman north-west

Various types of textual, artefactual and pictorial evidence can potentially be used to determine the clothing worn in a region of the Roman Empire. The specific circumstances of both the clothing worn and the sources available in the Rhine-Moselle region, however, create problems for the even-handed use of these three types.

Firstly, textual evidence for clothing in the Rhine-Moselle region is far from abundant and tends to be unreliable. Caesar tells us virtually nothing about the clothing worn by the Gauls. Of the Germans, he says that they know only animal skins as garments and that these barely cover the body at all.¹⁸⁰ Tacitus' description is similar: he describes the clothing of the Germans as a single cloak fastened by a pin or a thorn, leaving the rest of the body bare; only the wealthier wear a dress which is "not flowing like that of the Sarmatians and Parthians, but tight, and showing each limb". He says they also wear animal skins, and that women's dress is the same as the men's except that they "wrap themselves in linen garments, embroidered with purple, and do not lengthen out the upper part of their dress into sleeves, so that their arms are bare and the nearest part of their chest exposed".¹⁸¹

Other sources show Tacitus' and Caesar's representations to be inaccurate: the clothing worn by the Germans was not as meagre as they portray it to be. The image of the northern barbarian braving the cold barely dressed serves Tacitus' purpose in the *Germania* of portraying the Germans as rugged and strong. As will be argued further below,¹⁸² when talking of the clothing of the wealthier Germans, Tacitus is referring to the trouser ensemble originally worn by Celtic and German elite males which consisted of a simple rectangular cloak, a hip-length tunic and breeches, as described by Strabo and Diodorus Siculus for the Gauls.¹⁸³ These breeches were the reason Pliny referred to Transalpine Gaul as *Gallia Bracata*.¹⁸⁴ The sleeveless dress of the women may bear some connection to the overtunic of Menimane's ensemble, as described below in chapter 4. This, however, was worn over a long-sleeved undertunic and as such did not leave the arms or parts of the chest bare. Indeed, such a scanty

outfit is unlikely to have been widely worn in such a cold climate and, again, more likely stems from the author's will to portray the Germans as physically robust. It is also, however, possible that Tacitus was familiar with images of this dress, and mistook the tight bodice under the overtunic for bare flesh.

These few passages are all the relevant literary evidence we have for the clothing in the Rhine-Moselle region and bear very little relation with what can be gleaned from the pictorial evidence. As such, their general accuracy must be called into question.¹⁸⁵ They will, however, be called upon in the discussion in chapter 4 of what may have been worn by the people of our region *before* Roman conquest.

In addition to these passages, some ancient texts refer to garments worn in the north-western provinces using specific terminology, but without describing to what they refer. Although interesting in a linguistic sense, it is virtually impossible to marry these terms to garments seen in pictorial evidence. For this reason, Wild treated these references in a separate section in his 1968 survey.¹⁸⁶ For reasons discussed further below,¹⁸⁷ no attempt will be made in the present study to force connections between terms used in texts and garments seen in depictions.

The second type of source available to us, artefactual evidence, is also problematic. Due to the perishability of fabric and the predominance of cremation as the method of burial in the relevant period, actual textile finds are entirely lacking for the Rhine-Moselle region, and are extremely scarce for the north-west of the Roman Empire in general.¹⁸⁸ The few known examples, such as the ensemble found at Les Martres-de-Veyre (Puy de Dôme)¹⁸⁹ are very valuable in terms of how garments were constructed, but can hardly be considered in any way representative of a larger group of people. Similarly, the marginally more frequent peat bog finds of textiles from northern Germany and Scandinavia cannot necessarily be projected onto our area.¹⁹⁰

Garment accessories of more lasting materials make up the bulk of relevant artefactual evidence for clothing in our region. Brooches, belt buckles, jewellery and other items in graves or from casual finds sometimes indicate a certain garment combination, but are also far from ideal. Firstly, in cremated remains, although some items often survive, they are no longer in the location they were worn

¹⁸⁰ Caes., *B Gall.* 4.1; 6.21.

¹⁸¹ Tac., *Germ.* 17: *Tegumen omnibus sagum fibula aut, si desit, spina consertum: cetera intecti totos dies iuxta focum atque ignem agunt. Locupletissimi veste distinguuntur, non fluitante, sicut Sarmatae ac Parthi, sed stricta et singulos artus exprimente. Gerunt et ferarum pelles, proximi ripae neglegenter, ultiores exquisitius, ut quibus nullus per commercia cultus. Eligunt feras et detracta velamina spargunt maculis pellibusque beluarum, quas exterior Oceanus atque ignotum mare gignit. Nec alius feminis quam viris habitus, nisi quod feminae saepius lineis amictibus velantur eosque purpura variant, partemque vestitus superioris in manicas non extendunt, nuda brachia ac lacertos; sed et proxima pars pectoris patet.*

¹⁸² See section 'The trousers' in chapter 4 below.

¹⁸³ Strabo 4.4.3; Diod. Sic. 5.30.1-2.

¹⁸⁴ Plin., *HN* 3.4.31.

¹⁸⁵ On these text passages see also Wild 1985, 366.

¹⁸⁶ Wild 1968b, 168; 220ff.

¹⁸⁷ See the section 'The Gallic ensemble and Menimane's ensemble' in chapter 4 below.

¹⁸⁸ See also Wild 1985, 364f.; Böhme 1985, 425; 436; 438. For burial from the 4th cent. onward see Böhme 1974.

¹⁸⁹ Audollent 1922; Fournier 1956.

¹⁹⁰ See, e.g., Hald 1950; 1961; Schlabow 1965; 1976; Raddatz 1957; Munksgaard 1974; Hägg 1984; Nockert 1991.

3. THE SOURCES

Types of sources for dress in the Roman north-west

Various types of textual, artefactual and pictorial evidence can potentially be used to determine the clothing worn in a region of the Roman Empire. The specific circumstances of both the clothing worn and the sources available in the Rhine-Moselle region, however, create problems for the even-handed use of these three types.

Firstly, textual evidence for clothing in the Rhine-Moselle region is far from abundant and tends to be unreliable. Caesar tells us virtually nothing about the clothing worn by the Gauls. Of the Germans, he says that they know only animal skins as garments and that these barely cover the body at all.¹⁸⁰ Tacitus' description is similar: he describes the clothing of the Germans as a single cloak fastened by a pin or a thorn, leaving the rest of the body bare; only the wealthier wear a dress which is "not flowing like that of the Sarmatians and Parthians, but tight, and showing each limb". He says they also wear animal skins, and that women's dress is the same as the men's except that they "wrap themselves in linen garments, embroidered with purple, and do not lengthen out the upper part of their dress into sleeves, so that their arms are bare and the nearest part of their chest exposed".¹⁸¹

Other sources show Tacitus' and Caesar's representations to be inaccurate: the clothing worn by the Germans was not as meagre as they portray it to be. The image of the northern barbarian braving the cold barely dressed serves Tacitus' purpose in the *Germania* of portraying the Germans as rugged and strong. As will be argued further below,¹⁸² when talking of the clothing of the wealthier Germans, Tacitus is referring to the trouser ensemble originally worn by Celtic and German elite males which consisted of a simple rectangular cloak, a hip-length tunic and breeches, as described by Strabo and Diodorus Siculus for the Gauls.¹⁸³ These breeches were the reason Pliny referred to Transalpine Gaul as *Gallia Bracata*.¹⁸⁴ The sleeveless dress of the women may bear some connection to the overtunic of Menimane's ensemble, as described below in chapter 4. This, however, was worn over a long-sleeved undertunic and as such did not leave the arms or parts of the chest bare. Indeed, such a scanty

outfit is unlikely to have been widely worn in such a cold climate and, again, more likely stems from the author's will to portray the Germans as physically robust. It is also, however, possible that Tacitus was familiar with images of this dress, and mistook the tight bodice under the overtunic for bare flesh.

These few passages are all the relevant literary evidence we have for the clothing in the Rhine-Moselle region and bear very little relation with what can be gleaned from the pictorial evidence. As such, their general accuracy must be called into question.¹⁸⁵ They will, however, be called upon in the discussion in chapter 4 of what may have been worn by the people of our region *before* Roman conquest.

In addition to these passages, some ancient texts refer to garments worn in the north-western provinces using specific terminology, but without describing to what they refer. Although interesting in a linguistic sense, it is virtually impossible to marry these terms to garments seen in pictorial evidence. For this reason, Wild treated these references in a separate section in his 1968 survey.¹⁸⁶ For reasons discussed further below,¹⁸⁷ no attempt will be made in the present study to force connections between terms used in texts and garments seen in depictions.

The second type of source available to us, artefactual evidence, is also problematic. Due to the perishability of fabric and the predominance of cremation as the method of burial in the relevant period, actual textile finds are entirely lacking for the Rhine-Moselle region, and are extremely scarce for the north-west of the Roman Empire in general.¹⁸⁸ The few known examples, such as the ensemble found at Les Martres-de-Veyre (Puy de Dôme)¹⁸⁹ are very valuable in terms of how garments were constructed, but can hardly be considered in any way representative of a larger group of people. Similarly, the marginally more frequent peat bog finds of textiles from northern Germany and Scandinavia cannot necessarily be projected onto our area.¹⁹⁰

Garment accessories of more lasting materials make up the bulk of relevant artefactual evidence for clothing in our region. Brooches, belt buckles, jewellery and other items in graves or from casual finds sometimes indicate a certain garment combination, but are also far from ideal. Firstly, in cremated remains, although some items often survive, they are no longer in the location they were worn

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¹⁸⁹ Audollent 1922; Fournier 1956.

¹⁹⁰ See, e.g., Hald 1950; 1961; Schlabow 1965; 1976; Raddatz 1957; Munksgaard 1974; Hägg 1984; Nockert 1991.

on the body, as is the case with inhumations. Secondly, it is extremely difficult to reconstruct whole garments or garment ensembles from such objects. The vast field of scholarship devoted to Iron Age and Roman brooches very rarely attempts to relate these items to the types of garment they were worn on and can often not even identify the gender of the wearer.¹⁹¹ Moreover, women in our region appear to have worn very little jewellery after the last 1st cent. AD and virtually all the civilian garment ensembles worn by in our region were lacking in metal fastenings. *Fibulae* and a characteristic disc pendant were included in Iron-Age women's dress in the region, Menimane's and the Ubian ensemble, but the former stopped being worn by the beginning of the 2nd cent. AD, and the latter has been difficult to identify in grave finds.¹⁹² Brooches in general decline rapidly in use after the 1st cent. AD.

In contrast to textual and artefactual evidence, pictorial sources are both abundant and very informative. This category consists almost entirely of relief and statuary art in stone. One fresco depicting what appears to be local farmers' dress has been found in Trier¹⁹³ and some terracotta figurines depicting personified local deities and caricatured people have been retrieved in various locations,¹⁹⁴ but these only show at best what different types of dress some mortals *may* have worn.¹⁹⁵ Their purpose is to depict a fictional or religious character in dress that makes no claim to realism, and they use visual symbols that did not even necessarily originate in the local region. Likewise, relief depictions from elsewhere that are supposed to portray northern peoples, such as the scenes on Trajan's Column in Rome, do not necessarily pertain directly to our region and, in any case, depict mostly military rather than civilian figures. Such scenes will be called upon in the discussion of pre-Roman dress, but can hardly be expected to tell us much about what was worn during the centuries of relatively peaceful Roman rule in our region. Honorific and funerary portraiture, on the other hand, are the only types of pictorial source in which is depicted "an actual person in the clothes in which he appeared in an actual period and place."¹⁹⁶ Within this category again, however, the distribution is uneven. Little has been found of public honorary statues that depict local people from any of the urban settlements in our region. Likewise, very few votive stones depict mortal human beings. That leaves only funerary art, and it is no

coincidence that most previous work on dress in this region has been based on this most valuable source type.

To begin with, grave monuments with portraits and other figurative scenes have been found and published in large numbers in the Rhine-Moselle region. The catalogue for the current study contains 290 stones in all. While other parts of the Roman Empire, such as Palmyra, have yielded an even greater quantity, the high number found in the Rhine-Moselle region, and the Treveran area in particular, is unique for the north-western provinces. Of course, 290 stones cannot claim to speak for the entire population of this region over the space of three centuries, but this is no reason to ignore information about those who *are* depicted. Inscriptions, scenes and attributes show us that the people represented on the Rhine-Moselle stones came from a wide variety of occupational and status groups, from wealthy landlords and merchants to silversmiths and wet-nurses. Moreover, people belonging to classes too poor to commission such stones themselves often appear in scenes from everyday life on the sides of grave pillars as the employees or clients of the wealthier owners of these larger stones. Indeed, the wealth of information contained in such scenes, the inscriptions and the attributes comprise a further advantage of this source type: we can link dress behaviour on portraits and everyday life scenes with gender, occupation, wealth, status and ethnicity.

There is a great deal of evidence that suggests the way a person was buried, and the monument that that marked his or her final resting place, was a matter of great importance. An oft-cited example is Petronius' fictional Trimalchio, whose plans for an extravagant and ostentatious funerary monument were set out in preposterous detail in his will.¹⁹⁷ There are, however, also real-life examples both of detailed planning before death and of this information being included in the will. The well-known testament of a member of the Lingones of eastern Gaul contains detailed instructions on his burial and funerary monument and the rituals he would like observed by his family.¹⁹⁸ The monument to Lucius Poblicius from Cologne (U5) is an example from our own area of a large and elaborate stone that was, as the inscription tells us, arranged *ex testamento*. All of these figures were important and wealthy men, but care taken over funerary plans was not restricted to the elite. In some professions, such as the army, people subscribed to burial *collegia* who took care of the burial and commemoration of their members, often supported financially by wealthier members of the community.¹⁹⁹ Vetinius Verus (U20) from Cologne was a member of the *collegium fabrum tignariorum* and his inscription implies that this institution was involved in his monument. Even on stones where it is not explicitly stated, one may assume that, especially older, people will have talked to members of their family before they died about the kind of monument they would like. In cases of unexpected death, it will probably have been entirely up

¹⁹¹ Hatt 1986, xf.; H. Leifeld, pers. corr.

¹⁹² See below for both these ensembles and details of the metal accessories. The situation is most mysterious for the disc pendant: despite its prevalence on portraits, only one original exemplar has been retrieved from the region (see Lehner 1924, pl. 29; Böhme 1985, 429 & pl. II, 4-5).

¹⁹³ RLT Inv. no. 43.5. Schindler 1977, Raum 15, no. 156 (B/W); Cüppers 1990, pl. 15b (colour).

¹⁹⁴ For Cologne, see, e.g., Lange 1994.

¹⁹⁵ This also applies to votive reliefs for local deities, although these can be expected to be more reliable due to the fact that they were commissioned individually by local people and not mass-produced. Depictions of local deities play an important role in the case of Ubian mortal women's dress, which appears to have corresponded to the ensemble worn by the chief deities in this region. See the section 'Ubian women's dress' in chapter 4 below.

¹⁹⁶ Wild 1968b, 167.

¹⁹⁷ Petron., *Sat.* 11.

¹⁹⁸ See Hatt 1986, 66ff.; Le Bohec 1991.

¹⁹⁹ For burial *collegia* see Patterson 1992.

to the survivors to decide what kind of stone to commission, and what the deceased was to wear in his/her portrait.

So who was intended to see them? In general, grave-stones were placed in larger municipal graveyards along the roads leading out of settlements. The fact that larger stones were often erected closest to the road shows these most visible plots were also the most desirable: the monuments were intended to be seen not just by visitors to the graveyard, but also by travellers generally.²⁰⁰ Villa estates in the countryside often possessed their own burial grounds, but far from being private places, these, too, were often located close to a road or a river, within the view of travellers along these routes.²⁰¹ Obviously, graveyards could extend deep into the landscape beyond the road, so not all grave monuments will have been easily visible to passers by, but even they were surrounded by other monuments that were visited regularly by friends and family. Indeed, the commemorative requirements of *pietas* will have meant that, far from being quiet places, there will often have been a great deal of coming and going at the communal graveyards.

It is unclear exactly how long funerary monuments remained in place before they were removed. One may assume that the deceased will have wanted them to remain in place for as long as possible. Grave monuments of all kinds in all societies express a wish to live on beyond death as the individual the monument communicates one as having been. In short, they stem from a basic human desire not to be forgotten.²⁰² The general importance in Roman society of remembrance of the dead means that it will have been considered sacrilege to remove grave monuments from their sites without good reason. Indeed, the majority of the stones in our catalogue were retrieved from late 3rd and 4th-cent. fortifications: they were obviously only removed when the urgency of protecting the living from attack overrode the sense of *pietas* towards the dead.²⁰³

The most valuable aspect of grave monuments as sources for cultural identity, then, is their essential nature as consciously constructed and permanent public displays intended for a wide audience. The unique character of portraits sets them apart from all other source types: while artefactual evidence gives an unbiased indication of what people actually wore, and portraits present a

potentially unrealistic ideal, it is precisely this ideal that makes them so interesting. When considering cultural processes, one is inevitably faced with the question as to the degree of consciousness that was involved in the retention or adoption of elements of culture. This dilemma is best illustrated in the debate that surrounds the 'hidden transcript' approach described in chapter 1. Is it problematic to assume that there was a degree of conscious decision involved in getting up in the morning and donning a certain style of dress? Perhaps, but whatever people were wearing in their everyday lives, there can be no doubt that the way people chose to represent themselves and their family members on their gravestones was how they wanted to be remembered after they had died and, as such, involved a certain amount of thought as to their image, status and identity, and how to depict this. It follows that their clothing selection was part of this.

It must be made clear at this stage that the meagreness of artefactual evidence and the concentration on funerary art inevitably leads this study away from acting simply as a survey of what was worn in everyday life (although this, too, will be discussed, particularly with regard to everyday life scenes) to one which focuses on how people chose to portray themselves or their loved ones when given the choice.

Roman-style grave monuments in the Rhine-Moselle region

A tradition to set funerary monuments in stone already existed in some Celtic parts of western Europe in the pre-Roman era.²⁰⁴ There is also evidence for pre-Roman sculpture in Gaul in wood.²⁰⁵ (Graeco-)Roman grave monuments with portraits were, however, new for the inhabitants of the Rhine-Moselle region when they first appeared at around the turn of the millennium.²⁰⁶

The first stonemasons producing Roman-style grave-stones followed the Roman legions from other parts of the empire to the Rhine. A great deal of early scholarship on funerary sculpture in our region was devoted to identifying single workshops and the origins of those who worked in them, based mainly on artistic style and the types of stone material used.²⁰⁷ Gerster distinguished various generations of sculptors in the Rhine settlements, the earliest of whom came from northern Italy in the early

²⁰⁰ For Roman roadside graveyards and their forms and meanings in different parts of the empire see Hesberg/Zanker 1987.

²⁰¹ See Gabelmann 1987, 293; 304 and Willer 2005, 65-89, esp. 88.

²⁰² See also Hope 2001, 2: "Any funerary monument of whatever period seeks to personify and preserve features of the character of the deceased. Funerary monuments symbolise the inherent contradiction that lies at the heart of human attitudes to death. Common sense dictates that death is final, that the deceased has gone (even if it is to a better place), but many elements of death ritual seek to deny death and to prevent the complete annihilation of the physical presence of the individual. The tombstone or funerary monument is often integral to this process. It comes to personify the deceased especially if it is visited frequently by the bereaved."

²⁰³ It is unlikely that many of them were removed before this event as most only show damage that corresponds to the way the stone was fitted into the later structure.

²⁰⁴ Examples of this include the *tumulus* at Dauborner Hof in Germany with its obelisk-like gravestone dating to the middle La Tène (e.g. Grenier 1942, 262), monumental *stelae* from Celtic areas most influenced by the Mediterranean such as those at Narbonese Glanum (e.g. Jacobsthal 1930; Rolland 1935) and the 'stèle-maison' in certain parts of Gaul (e.g. Linckenheld 1927).

²⁰⁵ For examples see Koethe 1937, 203f.

²⁰⁶ See Schoppa 1966, 4. For a discussion of continuity of certain aspects of Celtic burial culture and decorative style in the funerary art of the Roman period, see Hatt 1986, 8. Hatt has also suggested that the fact that the Gauls in particular seem to have reasonably effortlessly embraced Roman burial culture points to an indigenous funerary practice that had not been entirely dissimilar, see Hatt 1986, 70f.

²⁰⁷ First laid out by Kutsch 1930. The most recent treatment is Noelke 2006.

1st cent. and set up workshops in Cologne and Mainz.²⁰⁸ Initially, these stonemasons serviced the Roman army, but Roman burial practice soon spread to the civilian population. The Blussus or Annaius-Blussus workshop in Mainz, named after the two best-preserved stones produced there, was already making gravestones for both military and civilian customers in the Claudian period.²⁰⁹ As a result of the shared patronage, the styles of the monuments in the earlier periods are largely modelled on those popular with soldiers stationed on the Rhine at the time. Many of these styles reflect influences from the eastern regions of the Roman Empire where some of the legions had hitherto been active. Smaller, independent workshops also existed alongside their better-known contemporaries in both Mainz and Cologne.²¹⁰ Many of the stones from the Rhine settlements from the 1st cent. also display stylistic influences from both Narbonese Gaul and northern Italy, indicating that some of these sculptors came from, or were trained in, these areas.²¹¹

In the Treveran area, the earliest grave monuments – from the early 1st cent. in the west and the 40s in and around Trier – display a strong influence of contemporaneous sculpture in Narbonese Gaul and northern and central Italy. According to closer studies of the stylistic elements of these stones, however, they seem to have established themselves independently of developments on the Rhine. Only from the middle of the 1st cent. onward does there appear to be increased influence from the Rhine as styles popular there are adopted in the Treveran area.²¹² Hatt has identified a community of stonemasons working in Trier in the Flavian period who created stones in styles closely resembling contemporaneous stones from Narbonese Gaul.²¹³ Again, it is unclear whether Narbonnensians moved to Trier or whether some Treveran sculptors-in-training were sent south to study.²¹⁴

The further development of funerary sculpture in our region varies very strongly among the three areas under scrutiny and forms a contrast to the overall picture of the epigraphic habit in the Roman Empire as described by MacMullen and Meyer. According to these scholars, epigraphic production in the Roman Empire saw a sharp increase in the 1st and 2nd centuries, peaked at the end of the 2nd cent. and went into rapid decline thereafter,

roughly contemporaneously with the *constitutio Antoniniana*, which led Meyer to suggest the habit had been linked to the desire to express special status as a Roman citizen.²¹⁵ In contrast, the relief gravestones in our region show a varied distribution over time. Even allowing for the possibility that older stones are less likely to survive, the degree of difference between the distribution patterns within and between our three areas is quite significant and unlikely to be purely a result of the circumstances of survival. In the Ubian area, the chronological distribution of the stones in the catalogue is relatively even from the early 1st cent. to the late 3rd cent. On the other hand, in Mainz the bulk of relief gravestones, and funerary inscriptions in general, date to the 1st cent. They show a steep decline at the beginning of the 2nd cent. when military activity in the area slowed down.²¹⁶ On the face of it, it is conceivable that this is a result of the high degree of “status dissonance” (a more general formulation of Meyer’s theory) in Mainz in the 1st cent., which may have disappeared when the military/civilian and immigrant/local populations became more integrated.²¹⁷ This does not marry well with the fact that the decline of the gravestones in Mainz did not signal the end of the ‘epigraphic habit’ as such, because the beginning of the 2nd cent. saw a substantial increase in the number of votive altars in the Mainz area. In Hope’s own words,

[e]pigraphy had not stopped or even faltered, nor had the role of commemoration and memory promotion been abandoned, but a shift in emphasis had occurred. ... If the attention of the audience had turned away from the cemetery it was because new spheres were found to hold that attention.²¹⁸

Nevertheless, it would appear that social mobility generally, as opposed to Meyer’s more specific factor of citizenship, was indeed at least partly involved in the motivation to commission Roman-style grave monuments, as, in the Treveran area, the habit appears to make only a very limited start in the 1st cent., while most of the stones, including the relief stones in our catalogue, date to the later 2nd and early to mid 3rd cent., and it is in this latter period that the Treveran economy appears to have flourished, leading to increased social mobility.²¹⁹ It was also not until the 2nd cent. that Trier could boast a substantial stoneworking community.²²⁰ Meyer’s theory cannot ex-

²⁰⁸ Gerster 1938, 122f. See also Schoppa 1965, 50; Andrikopoulou-Strack 1986, 157; Boppert 1992a, 47 note 173; Gabelmann 1987, 292; Goethert 2002, 34.

²⁰⁹ Boppert 1992b, 46.

²¹⁰ See Gabelmann 1972, 110ff.

²¹¹ See Schoppa 1965, 52.

²¹² Goethert 2002, 34.

²¹³ Hatt 1961.

²¹⁴ Goethert 2002, 95; Gabelmann 1987, 294. See also Koethe 1937, 210, where he suggests that the sculptors may have come from northern Italy via Narbonensis. There has been a certain amount of controversy as to the geographical origins of stylistic influence on funerary sculpture in the Rhine-Moselle region. Faust, Gabelmann and Andrikopoulou-Strack (e.g. Gabelmann 1972; 1977; 1987; Andrikopoulou-Strack 1986; Faust 1998) have argued for northern Italy, Noelke and Krier for Narbonese Gaul (e.g. Noelke 1996a; Krier/Reinert 1993). In synthesis, it would appear that the picture is complicated and that influence came not only from both regions to northern Gaul in different periods, but also that the two regions influenced each other.

²¹⁵ MacMullen 1982; Meyer 1990.

²¹⁶ Appendix II, Tables 7-10, Boppert 1992b, 13; 22f. See also the statistical data for the Mainz stones in Hope 2001, 105: of all funerary monuments (civilian and military) dated in *CSIR* II,5 & II,6, 85% are from the 1st cent., 11% are from the 2nd and 4% are from the 3rd.

²¹⁷ Hope 2001, 91f. See also Woolf 1996. “Status dissonance”, according to Hope, caused those most anxious to display their status – those whose status had considerably improved such as auxiliary soldiers and *liberti* – to commission gravestones for visual status display. She also suggests that legionary soldiers used tombstones express their “territorial, military and Roman superiority over the non-enfranchised indigent population” (Hope 2001, 13).

²¹⁸ Hope 2001, 93.

²¹⁹ See also Kaiser 2000, who shows how a gradual decline in the quality and quantity of gravegoods in Treveran burials occurred parallel to a gradual increase in above-ground commemoration, implying that the latter replaced the former.

²²⁰ Goethert 2002, 94.

plain why a great number of the stones from the Treveran area date to the mid 3rd cent., after the enactment of the *constitutio Antoniniana*, but a basis in social mobility in general is conceivable, even in this late period.

Stylistically, the sculpture of both the Rhine provinces and northern Gaul began to develop independently of Italian or Roman imperial sculpture. The originality in expressiveness and realism both in subject matter and in the portrayal of anatomy, movement and facial expressions, has long been recognised as a particular achievement of the stonemasons of the region.²²¹ The process was, however, uneven. While after the 1st cent. Mainz began to fall behind in both quantity and quality of funerary art,²²² Trier and Cologne grew into centres of artistic quality and innovation. In the Treveran area, this led to an abundance of scenes from everyday life on gravestones, the exceptional popularity of which is a peculiarity of Treveran sculpture.²²³ Nowhere in the Roman Empire has a collection of stones been retrieved that shows so richly and variedly the everyday life of the people.²²⁴

Some types of scenes appear on many stones, and can reasonably be regarded as *topoi*. The scenes generally depict either domestic or working life. Typical domestic scenes include family meals, ladies having their hair dressed,²²⁵ men on horseback, hunting or returning from hunting with quarry in hand,²²⁶ the performing of religious rituals²²⁷ and people out riding in horse-drawn wagons (which may depict leisurely drives or ‘business trips’).²²⁸ Working life scenes include goods inspections (usually two figures stretching a piece of cloth between

them),²²⁹ the production,²³⁰ selling,²³¹ weighing²³² or transport of goods by wagon or boat,²³³ office scenes of men sitting at desks, often holding books or processing money,²³⁴ and men being approached on foot by figures in outdoor garb (hooded capes, walking sticks, satchels) bearing agricultural products, which have been interpreted as tenant farmers paying rent to landlords.²³⁵ Scenes of agricultural labour are also common.²³⁶

Beside these ‘types’, there are also a number of unique scenes, although it is possible that the incompleteness of our source base is responsible for their singular appearance. One well-known example is the school scene from Neumagen (T129), depicting a teacher sitting with his pupils. Other unusual scenes show a man drinking from a barrel (T116), children and a dog eating and playing flutes (T24) and adults playing music and reading to one another (T109, T122). The statuette T92 shows a man in full bathing garb, complete with towel and *strigilis*, while T96 shows a semi-naked woman having a towel handed to her. M35 from Mainz shows a fisherman with his rod and a shepherd with his flock. Two large ships in the round, complete with rowing crew and helmsmen, which may have adorned the top of a large monument, were uncovered at Neumagen (T149-150). The stone for the wet-nurse from Cologne (U32) also depicts her discharging her duties. A number of scenes as yet evade definite interpretation: One shows two men holding what may be an abacus or a board game (T103), while U59 may represent a funerary or religious procession. A scene depicting a man holding a club and leading two chained ‘barbarians’ (M22) has been the subject of much speculation.²³⁷

After a late burst of activity under the Gallic Empire, the golden age of Treveran sculpture came to a close in the second half of the 3rd cent. Koethe set the end of classical Treveran sculpture at the disastrous turn of the year 275/276, when major incursions of Transrhene tribes wreaked havoc far into the heart of Gaul.²³⁸ This period also saw a dramatic turn for the worse for funerary sculpture on the Rhine, particularly in Cologne. While art historians regard the few objects that display a continuation of classical northern Gallic sculpture in the late 3rd

²²¹ See, e.g., Koethe 1937, especially 199f.; Schoppa 1965, 55; Gabelmann 1987, 298; Hatt 1966, 66. Koethe and Hatt opined that it surpassed the quality of sculpture in the core of the empire at this time.

²²² The artistic efforts of the Mainz sculptors were henceforth devoted more to religious monuments like the Jupiter Columns (see Bauchhenß/Noelke 1981).

²²³ Reddé 1978, map page 48.

²²⁴ Willer has recently played down the peculiarity of the quantity and variety of everyday life scenes on gravestones in northern Gaul and the Rhineland, citing the occupational scenes popular in Italy in the 1st cent., of which those of Ostia are perhaps the most famous (Willer 2005, esp. 62). In doing so, however, she misses the individuality not only in the adaptation of image types that may have been based partly on models from elsewhere, but also of the many image types that are entirely unique to this region.

²²⁵ E.g. T56, T60, T117, T142, T155, T164, T170. Willer (2005, 56) sees the Attic reliefs in which seated women are handed jewellery by servants as the origin of these scenes. I am not convinced they could not have developed of their own accord.

²²⁶ E.g. T56, T143, T144 (?), T179, T181. See Willer 2005, 56 note 363 for examples of hunting scenes from other regions and periods which may have served as models for this scene type. However, it seems equally likely that the main common factor is not the image type, but the fact of hunting as an elite sport in many different societies. For the role of hunting especially hares in Celtic society, see Binsfeld 1977 and Parlasca 1998.

²²⁷ T107, T186, U57.

²²⁸ E.g. T30, T32, T33 (?), T62, T103, T114, T117, T124, T130, T151, T160, T166, T176, T178, T180, U11. Those that depict goods transport can surely not be interpreted as leisurely outings, but those that do not are more difficult to assess. Freigang interprets those with a driver as recreational outings. She also suggests a connection between these scenes and the special role wagons played among the pre-Roman Celtic aristocracy, as demonstrated in wagon burials (Freigang 1997a, 328).

²²⁹ E.g. T33, T62, T246, T160, T172, M41.

²³⁰ T71, T112, T115, T125-126, T174. For a detailed survey of occupational scenes on Roman funerary art see Zimmer 1982.

²³¹ E.g. T30, T108.

²³² T128, T158.

²³³ E.g. T33, T47, T62, T102, T112, T170, T178, M36.

²³⁴ E.g. T33, T62, T102, T118, T120, T129, T147, T161, T163, T175, T182, T185.

²³⁵ E.g. T16, T35, T56, T62, T103, T117, T145, T147, T168 (?). It is important to note in this context that there is no evidence for large scale use of slave labour on villa estates in northern Gaul. Rather, the land seems to have been owned by villa owners but distributed to and worked by free but dependent farmers who paid their rent in either money or kind (both are depicted in the rent-paying scenes). Saller and Shaw have argued for a much smaller population of slaves in the western provinces as a whole than in Italy on the basis of the epigraphic evidence (Saller/Shaw 1984, 139).

²³⁶ T16, T30, T38, T106(?), T110, T112, T157, T165, T167, T187, M35, M36, U58.

²³⁷ See section ‘The trousers’ below.

²³⁸ Koethe 1937, 228-230.

and early 4th centuries²³⁹ as the belated death throes of the genre, the present study, being, as it is, concerned with depictions of dress and less with artistic quality, includes all portraits that depict clothing until the portraits themselves come to an end. Some of the sarcophagi, and a few *stelae*, of the late 3rd and early 4th cent. still include niche portraits, and, as such, have been included. The definitive end occurs only when Christian symbols come to completely replace these portraits.

Representativeness of the grave monuments

Two main factors play a role in the extent to which the stones in our catalogue are representative of the population of those areas in the Roman era: firstly, the number that have survived, and secondly, the proportion of the population that originally commissioned them.

With regard to the first factor: It is generally assumed that only a fraction of those stones originally constructed have survived, but as yet no scholar has dared to give an estimate for any of the areas covered in this study.²⁴⁰ Almost all the stone funerary monuments in our region had, long before they were found, been removed from their original locations to be reused as building material. As a result, most came to light during construction (or destruction) work on late antique and early medieval structures, and are in fragments. Some have also been recovered from Merovingian cemeteries, which often overlap Roman cemeteries, where Roman monuments were used as cover stones. Many of the limestone monuments will have fallen prey to limekilns of later periods. For those stones that survived, it has always been very difficult to make a detailed picture of their original distribution as a result of their separation from their original context.²⁴¹

The area which has yielded the most relief stones in our region is the Treveran *civitas*. Within this area, however, the distribution is very uneven. The majority of the stones were found as building material in late Roman fortifications at Arlon and Neumagen.²⁴² Such structures are typical of this area after the first major incursions by Transrhene tribes in the 270s.²⁴³ The Arlon wall was dismantled by local lords at various stages to construct new buildings or, in the case of Count Ernest de Mansfeld, to decorate his gardens at Clausen in the 17th cent. Eventually, Mansfeld's collection was broken up and the stones ended up in far-flung places or were lost. Some could be recovered for museums in the area, others are only known to us by way of the drawings produced by a Jesuit brother, Alexandre de Wiltheim, while Mansfeld's collection still existed.²⁴⁴ These drawings are highly valuable, as their general accuracy is attested by compar-

ing them with those stones which were both drawn by Wiltheim and have survived to the present day.²⁴⁵ As a result, they are included in the catalogue.

The origin of the stones at Neumagen has inspired a century of debate. Scholars were puzzled by the contrast between the extraordinary quantity and quality of the stones on the one hand, and the archaeology of Neumagen on the other, which indicates that it was a very small settlement. There seems now to be consensus that the stones were removed from the large necropoleis outside Trier and transported down the Moselle to build the *castellum*.²⁴⁶ Heinen has argued that "[e]in milieu, wie es diese Grabreliefs wiedergeben, hat es in dem bescheidenen Moselvicus nicht gegeben",²⁴⁷ and the modest size of the fort itself suggests that Neumagen was not a large town.

This resolution goes some way to explain why the main Treveran settlement, Trier, has yielded less stones than expected. The *civitas* capital did, of course, also have a disproportionately large appetite for building material, particularly in late antiquity, which will have contributed further to the disappearance of the stones.²⁴⁸ If the Neumagen stones came from Trier, which this study assumes, then the vast majority of the stones in the Treveran area actually come from Trier and Arlon. Although, as the above has shown, that distribution is heavily dependant on the secondary use of the stones, as it stands it corresponds to the archaeological evidence that Trier and Arlon were the two largest towns in the Treveran area.

The stones at Buzenol-Montauban in the Treveran area were also used to build a late Roman *castellum*. However, a Roman *vicus* has not been established in the area, and it has been suggested they came from surrounding *villae* and/or that they were erected along the nearby Trier-Reims road.²⁴⁹ The similarity in style to those of Neumagen and the depiction of town-based occupations such as cloth trade²⁵⁰ point to a Trier provenance for these stones as well. Determining the number of the monuments is also problematic: the circa 30 fragments that have been found may have belonged to only five or ten large monuments, but reconstruction has proved impossible.²⁵¹ Finally, the Treveran area has also brought forth a large number of more isolated rural finds, most of which are likely to have stood in family graveyards on villa estates.²⁵²

The area with the smallest number of relief stones in our region is the Middle Rhine area. Most of these come from the area's main settlement, Mainz. Although very few

²³⁹ Such as the Herms of Welschbillig, see Koethe 1937, 230ff.

²⁴⁰ See Hope 2001, 2. Duncan-Jones 1982, 360ff. estimated an approximately 5% survival rate for public inscriptions in northern Africa.

²⁴¹ See van Doorselaer 1967, 167.

²⁴² Ausonius mentions this castellum in *Mosella* 10-11.

²⁴³ See Mariën 1945b; Bertrang 1954; Mertens 1973.

²⁴⁴ Wiltheim 1841.

²⁴⁵ E.g. cat. nos T39 and T73.

²⁴⁶ For a discussion of this with references to literature see Baltzer 1983, 20.

²⁴⁷ See Heinen 1985, 197.

²⁴⁸ Baltzer 1983, 21.

²⁴⁹ See Mertens 1958, 52; Wightman 1976, 61; Baltzer 1983, 23.

²⁵⁰ E.g. T160.

²⁵¹ See Baltzer 1983, 23.

²⁵² See Appendix I, Map 2.

have been found *in situ*,²⁵³ the vast majority having again served as building material for later structures (e.g. the 3rd-cent. city wall), some do not appear to have been moved very far from their original locations. Hence, stones found in or near known cemeteries are generally assumed to have stood in them, although exact locations can never be established. Mainz itself appears to have possessed numerous graveyards, some with a more civilian, others with a more military focus.²⁵⁴ A number of stones were also found at Selzen, 30 km south of Mainz, where they had been used in late antiquity to build a ford across a river. Their origin is also unclear: They may have come from Mainz-Weisenau or from a closer settlement at Nierstein.²⁵⁵ Due to this uncertainty, in this study they are classified as non-Mainz stones. The monuments of the Middle Rhine area show a polarity in distribution, with an accumulation in the south around Mainz and Bingen, and another in the north around Koblenz and Andernach.²⁵⁶ The latter two were military posts and the stones from Koblenz were recovered from a late Roman bridge. The remainder of the stones from the Middle Rhine area were isolated finds that probably stood on villa estates.

In the Ubian area, the vast majority of the stones come from Cologne, a number of which were, like at Koblenz, recovered from a late Roman bridge.²⁵⁷ The army settlement at Bonn has yielded many military, but only a handful of civilian, monuments. A number of stones were unearthed in Zülpich, which in the Roman period was a small settlement by the name of *Tolbiacum*. Again, the very few remaining isolated finds probably stood in family graveyards on country estates.

In summarising the first factor for representativeness, then, the numbers of stones found was strongly influenced by the use to which the stones were later put. The large number that became building material in late Roman structures were only discovered when these were dismantled. No estimates are available for the ratio of stones that survived to those that did not. Moreover, it has not yet been possible to estimate within any workable range the population size of any of the settlements in our region in the Roman period. In other words, the first factor has proved unhelpful in gaining a picture of the representativeness of the stones. What can, however, be said is that the present distribution, accepting new theories of the provenance of some monument assemblages, displays a concentration in the largest settlements of the region, which speaks in its favour.

After having now dealt with the chronological and geo-

graphical distribution of the stones, it is now necessary to turn our attention to their distribution within the society they stemmed from. This second factor is more helpful as the information contained in the monuments reveals which groups of people were likely to erect them. It is important to note, however, that the commissioning of a Roman-style, stone monument was dependant not only on the commissioner's financial situation, but also on his or her cultural inclination. Also, the cost of the monuments will have varied across the region, depending on the availability of stone and the degree of competition between stonemasons.²⁵⁸

There is little consensus among scholars as to the degree to which the poorer classes could afford a stone grave monument. Saller and Shaw have argued that "memorial stones were within the means of modest men".²⁵⁹ Hatt has also argued enthusiastically for a wide demographic range in the gravestones from Gaul:

Il n'est pas de laboureur à demi illettré ou de pauvre citoyen qui n'ait tenu à se faire fabriquer, parfois à se fabriquer lui-même, sa stèle sculptée ou son autel gravé.²⁶⁰

Hopkins, on the other hand, and, more recently, Woolf, have argued that only a small portion of the population are represented in inscribed stones.²⁶¹

The above opinions refer, however, to funerary inscriptions in general. Our selection is even more limited because it deals only with those stones containing relief depictions, which are likely to have been the most expensive.²⁶² Nonetheless, even relief stones display a wide range in size and quality, and the most advisable approach to gaining an understanding of who is represented in our stones is perhaps simply to take a look at the stones themselves and what they tell us about who is depicted. The larger monuments like the grave pillars and family burial chambers were undoubtedly restricted to the wealthy,²⁶³ but there is evidence that at least some people of relatively modest means did commission portrait monuments. In the second half of the 2nd cent., a small stone was erected for a smith and his wife from Hentern in the Treveran area which includes a standing relief

²⁵³ Decker/Selzer 1976, 541 count 6 or 7 examples from the 350 or so grave monuments/fragments at Mainz.

²⁵⁴ 20 altogether. For a detailed list see Kronemayer 1983, 9-11. The main legionary graveyard lay in the Zahlbachtal to the south of the main camp. The Weisenau necropolis ran along the road between its military camp and the main camp. For the topography of Roman Mainz with the locations of the various cemeteries see Decker/Selzer 1976, especially maps 5-8; Boppert 1991, 91; 1992b, 5ff.

²⁵⁵ Klumbach 1936, 33; Boppert 1992b, 3ff.

²⁵⁶ See Appendix I, Map 3.

²⁵⁷ See Gabelmann 1987, 305.

²⁵⁸ See Duncan-Jones 1982, 79f.; 127ff. for the prices of stones in northern Africa. See also Hope 2001, 3 note 16.

²⁵⁹ Saller/Shaw 1984, 128.

²⁶⁰ Hatt 1986, xi.

²⁶¹ Hopkins 1966, 247; Woolf 1998, 98ff.

²⁶² Cf. Willer (2005, 65 note 428) who thinks that the original portion of gravestones with portraits was higher, but the reliefs themselves were less likely to survive because their awkward shape rendered them less practical for use as building blocks. See also Boppert 1992b, 13 and Wild 1985, 368 and 1968b, 171: "The great wealth of material from the second century and first half of the third ... is largely confined to the town sites and rich estates of Gallia Belgica and Upper Germany. In areas comparatively poor in signs of Romanised life ... nothing is known. ... At all times only the comparatively well-to-do set up funeral monuments in stone, and what we learn of the dress of the lower classes comes mainly from the 'Grabdenkmäler' of the wealthiest, who could afford to have the activities of their servants and tenants depicted as well as their own."

²⁶³ See van Doorselaer 1967, 174f.

portrait of the couple (T93). Nor is this unique. Several of the stones in the catalogue were commissioned for or by artisans,²⁶⁴ while other modest occupations such as clerks (T99) and messengers (M1) are represented. These stones show that portrait monuments were not restricted to the elite. They may, however, represent people who were unusually successful in their line of work. Nonetheless, they correspond to findings from Italy, where Zimmer has found many elaborate, relief-decorated *stela*e and *arae* for simple artisans and craftsmen.²⁶⁵ Only one freedman is attested in our catalogue (U42), but some of the names in the inscriptions suggest that those portrayed were *liberti*.²⁶⁶ A wet-nurse by the name of Severina from Cologne is depicted on U32. It has long been assumed that the portrait depicts her deceased young charge, and that she commissioned the stone for him, but it is more likely that this portrait is of Severina herself, in which case the stone was probably commissioned *for her* by the wealthy family she worked for, presumably as a slave.

With the exception of some slaves, whose owners are likely to have erected the monuments for them,²⁶⁷ there is no evidence that the very poorest members of society commissioned relief stones. Poorer people may have erected monuments of other perishable materials, such as wood. However, this does not mean that such people are invisible on our stones, for the many scenes from everyday life that adorned especially the larger monuments in the Treveran area depict a vast range of different people at work, from shopkeepers to farmers, shepherds, clerks and boatmen and, of course, domestic slaves. Although these people may not appear in portrait form, and as such had less say over what they were depicted as wearing, they do appear in their everyday working lives, and it is unlikely that the clothing chosen for them was vastly different to what they normally wore.

In terms of gender, men are represented more often than women on our stones, but the ratio is not dramatically uneven.

In all, then, although they depict a wide range of people, the 290 stones in our catalogue cannot be considered as statistically representative of the entire population of the Rhine-Moselle region. Instead, in this study, the focus is on what these stones say about the groups of people who *are* depicted.

Portraits vs. everyday life

The stones in the catalogue have been separated according to whether they contain formal portraits of the deceased or scenes from everyday life.²⁶⁸ They have been

separated due to the differing motivations between the dress choice on the two types of scenes. Portraits were, apart from perhaps the inscription, the main focus of the monument. They were intended to represent the deceased in a way that they, or their family members, wished them to be remembered. As such, they did not necessarily represent people in the clothes they wore in their everyday lives. Instead, an ideal is portrayed,²⁶⁹ and it is this ideal that is so interesting for us, because it was created *deliberately* according to the wishes of those who commissioned the monument.

It was this specific expression of “desire rather than actuality”²⁷⁰ that inspired Gelman Taylor to conduct research on family portraits in colonial Indonesia, and her summary of the particular significance of portraits is relevant here:

Because portraits and photographs were commissioned, the costume worn was the result of considered selection. It establishes the social identity of the persons depicted, places them in historical time, and links the wearers to specific communities. The costumes we see suggest how colonial society viewed gender differences, and they make a statement about the wearer’s moral, religious, and political standpoints.²⁷¹

Portrait stones were more popular in some places than others. The vast majority of stones in Mainz, for example, are without portraits, while the proportion is much higher in the Treveran area. Various types of portrait can be found on the civilian grave monuments in the Rhine-Moselle region. The most common type, particularly in the Treveran area, is the full figure, standing relief portrait of an individual or couple in a roughly oblong niche, often with an arched upper edge.²⁷² A variation on this that was particularly popular in the Middle Rhine area showed the deceased not standing but seated front-on.²⁷³ The debate as to the origins of this portrait form, which was also used in Britain, is ongoing. Krüger was of the opinion it came from the east, while Boppert suggests influence from northern Italy, where this genre was popular in certain circles in the early imperial period.²⁷⁴ The concentration of the type in Gaul, the Rhine provinces

²⁶⁴ T71, U20 (carpenters), U41 (silversmith). Cf. also an inscription from Igel which was erected for a stonemason (*CIL* XIII 4207).

²⁶⁵ Zimmer 1982.

²⁶⁶ E.g. T62, U5, U19, U33-34.

²⁶⁷ E.g. T1, U32 and perhaps M12.

²⁶⁸ Some larger stones display both, but are listed in the catalogue only once under Portrait Stones.

²⁶⁹ This may be the reason why most portraits depict slim, straight-standing (or sitting) figures that show no signs of age, although many of those who died must have been relatively old. Another reason could, of course, be that the characteristics of age were more difficult to portray. See T53 in this catalogue for an exception. It is interesting to note that in the only case in our catalogue where skeletal remains have been found with the monument (U2), the facial reconstruction from the skull closely resembles the relief portrait.

²⁷⁰ Gelman Taylor 1997, 90.

²⁷¹ Gelman Taylor 1997, 87.

²⁷² E.g. T3, T9-12, T21, T23-26, T28-31, T33-42, T45-71, T73, T77-79, T81-82, T85-88, T90, T95, T101, M9, M11, M15-16, M20-21, M24, M26, M30-32, U7, U13, U31, U40, U46, U49-50, U54.

²⁷³ E.g. M3, M6, M12-13, M19, M25.

²⁷⁴ Krüger 1938, 134; Boppert 1992b, 23; 45. For Britain see the 3rd-cent. gravestone for Regina from South Shields which may have been the work of a sculptor from Palmyra: *RIB* 1065; Toynbee 1962, no. 87; Phillips 1977, no. 247.

and Pannonia strongly suggests a Celtic origin,²⁷⁵ and many native deities of the region were depicted in the same way.²⁷⁶ It seems clear that it was a posture locally regarded as more dignified than the standing form of most Roman portraits and deity depictions.²⁷⁷

It is perhaps also for this reason that a further portrait type, the family meal scene, in which members of a family are depicted sitting or reclining around a table laden with food, became so popular in our region.²⁷⁸ It is necessary to discuss these scenes in slightly more detail, as they form a grey area between portrait and everyday life scenes, and have been the subject of dispute in recent decades. They appear to have originated in Greece in the 4th cent., where the deceased were sometimes portrayed enjoying food and drink, calling to mind the funerary banquets held at the grave of the deceased and expressing the wish that earthly delights will continue in the afterlife. Often the deceased were depicted larger than other figures in the scene such as slaves, to suggest heroism. Because of the visual link to the funerary banquet, these scenes have often been referred to as 'Grabmahlreliefs'. Due to their later development, however, this study uses the more neutral term 'Mahldarstellung', or 'meal scene' in English, as suggested by Noelke.²⁷⁹

Meal scenes appear on gravestones in the west from the Flavian period onwards, brought by troops who had served either in the east or the Narbonensis where they were also popular.²⁸⁰ The structure of the scene and the sentiment that went with it were initially retained in the earliest examples in the Rhineland: Most meal scenes from the 1st cent. were commissioned for active soldiers on the Rhine front and show them in exaggerated size, reclining behind a table and attended by a servant. Most of the soldiers that chose this form of monument were, however, ordinary auxiliaries.²⁸¹ As such, the meal scene was aspirational: only the higher-ranking soldiers will have actually had servants and *triclinia*.²⁸² It is, however, unclear whether the aspiration is to the lifestyle of the higher-ranking officers or the joys of the afterlife. In the early 2nd cent., the genre developed to include other members of the family and was increasingly adopted by civilians. Its popularity waned during the course of the 2nd cent. in the Rhineland, but in the Treveran area, a specific variation evolved that became the family meal scene so common on our larger relief stones. Unlike the

Rhenish examples, however, these appear in the pictorial scheme of the monument as one of the everyday domestic scenes rather than as funerary banquets or scenes of the afterlife. As such, they possess a symbolism far removed from their original meaning.²⁸³ In fact, the scenes of the Treveran area fulfil a number of desiderata of grave monuments in this area: They show an idyllic scene of the intact family, before any of its members were lost to death, and they display the wealth and sophistication of the family by depicting the food, servants, dishes and furniture appropriate to banquets. They could also serve a dual purpose as family portrait and everyday life scene, making a separate family portrait unnecessary.

It is for this latter reason that the meal scenes on our stones present a problem of classification. Some must be seen as portraits, while others were clearly intended as one of the everyday life scenes like those depicting the *paterfamilias* at work or the children at school. The line can, however, be drawn relatively easily based on the position of the scene on the monument. When the meal scene was intended as a portrait, it is either the only figurative scene on the monument (like the original stones from the Rhineland), or, on larger monuments with many scenes, occupies a central position, usually directly above the inscription. When it was intended as an everyday life scene, on the other hand, it takes a secondary position on the stone, as the central position was reserved for a more formal portrait. Based on these criteria, some meal scenes in the catalogue are classified as portraits, while others are classified as everyday life scenes. The genre itself disappeared, with the larger monuments and everyday life scenes, in the later 3rd cent.²⁸⁴

Returning, then, to the other types of portraits in our region, one that was particularly prevalent on the smaller *stelae* and *cippi* was the medallion²⁸⁵ or niche²⁸⁶ bust portrait. These were convenient for such monuments as they could show the main features of a person in a smaller format, and could be embedded into the inscription text, to further save space. A slightly larger, and

²⁷⁵ See also Schober 1923, 208.

²⁷⁶ See Ferri 1931, 133ff.; Frova 1956, 34ff.; Schoppa 1963, 10; 1966, 16; Gabelmann 1972, 82, 110; Andrikopolou-Strack 1986, 67.

²⁷⁷ It is interesting that, on stones showing a mixture of standing and sitting, it is always the woman standing. On M12, both Blussus and Menimane are depicted seated, but the inscription tells us that it was Menimane who commissioned the stone! For a discussion and review of this debate, as well as a survey of the distribution of seated portraits across the empire, especially in northern Italy and Gaul, see Boppert 1992b, 24-45; 1991, 92f.

²⁷⁸ E.g. T24, T32, T43-44, T60, T62, T121, T127, T128, T148, T152-153, T157, T169-170, T174, T177, M14, M33, M37, U9-11, U17, U45.

²⁷⁹ Noelke 1998, 399.

²⁸⁰ For more detail of the origins: Noelke 1998, 416f.

²⁸¹ Particularly from Thrace and neighbouring regions: Noelke 1998, 416; Hope 2001, 42-43.

²⁸² See Noelke 1998, 411.

²⁸³ Cf. Nerzic 1989, 125; 257; Gabelmann 1987, 295; Hatt 1986, 190f.; Noelke 1998, 405. It is interesting to note that while on the earlier Rhenish stones men always reclined to eat, on the Treveran meal scenes some of the men recline, while others sit. In Italy, this appears, according to evidence from Pompeii, to have been class-related; elite men owned *triclinia*, while men in the lower social classes tended to dine seated (Noelke 1998, 413). In the Rhine-Moselle region, however, wealth and social status do not seem to mark out the sitters from the recliners: some of the most opulent monuments in our region show men sitting to eat (T24, T43, T62, T128). These stones date from the second half of the 2nd to the later 3rd cent. Noelke is of the opinion that "in der civitas Treverorum Teilen der Bürgerschaft nun ähnlich wie die einheimische Tracht die unrömische Tischsitte als schicklich galt" (Noelke 1998, 413f.). In other words, in both dining custom and dress, native culture was experiencing a renaissance. In chapter 5 I will argue that this is more likely to have been due to a new group of people dedicating stones that were previously invisible, rather than a change in habit for those already visible.

²⁸⁴ Noelke 2000, 70. See also his most recent treatment of the subject: Noelke 2005.

²⁸⁵ E.g. T87, U14, U18-19, U22, U24-29, U32, U34, U36-37, U47-48, U53, U55.

²⁸⁶ E.g. T5, T13-15, T17, T76, M7-8, U3, U8, U12, U15-16, U20-21, U33, U35, U41-43, U51-52.

presumably more expensive, version of this type is the half-figure in a niche, which shows the person or people from roughly the waist upwards.²⁸⁷ Only one group of examples has been discovered in our area of a portrait type popular in Italy: the bust statue. The three busts from Cologne-Weiden (U30) are unusual in this region in themselves, but also for the fact that they are made out of marble and stood in a burial chamber. The final portrait type that in our region only appears on the very largest grave pillars is the standing portrait in the round.²⁸⁸ The majority of these in our catalogue are roughly life-sized and stood between pillars, forming a large, central *aedicula*. A number were not executed entirely in the round, but attached at the back to the rest of the monument.²⁸⁹

With the standing niche portraits mentioned at the beginning of this section, statue figures were most likely to be depicted with material attributes. Some of these were more common than others. Men were often depicted carrying scrolls,²⁹⁰ bundles of *codices*²⁹¹ and purses,²⁹² while the most common attributes for women were the *mappa*,²⁹³ the jewellery box,²⁹⁴ the spindle and/or distaff²⁹⁵ and the perfume flask.²⁹⁶ Some portraits include a dog, either at a person's feet, sitting on their lap or, in the case of a child, playing.²⁹⁷ Artisans and workers are often depicted holding the tools of their trade.²⁹⁸ More unusual items held by people in their portraits include a pine cone (M6), a flower (M13), a bird (M30) and a bunch of grapes (U7).²⁹⁹ The inclusion of such attributes further underlines the symbolic nature of the portraits.

The fact that portraits may often have depicted desire rather than reality leads inevitably to the question of status usurpation. This applies especially to the only garment worn on portraits in our region that was restricted to a certain group in society by law: the toga. Scholars of the relief stones in the north-west have always regarded the toga as a sure sign the wearer was a Roman citizen. But usurpation of Roman citizenship and its symbols has been shown by Reinhold to have been rife.³⁰⁰ The *Lex Licinia Mucia* of 95 BC established usurpation of Roman citizenship as a crime, but it is difficult to assess what effect this had. Goette has recently suggested that, in the absence of an explicit law banning the wearing of the toga by non-citizens in ancient texts, non-

citizens may have worn it.³⁰¹ But an explicit law is indeed implied by Pliny³⁰² and by the well-known episode in Suetonius' life of Claudius, in which the emperor allows a defendant in a case of alleged citizenship usurpation to change back and forth between the toga and the *pallium*, according to whether he was being defended or accused at the various stages of the hearing.

There were, in fact, heavy penalties for status usurpation. A little later on in the text, Suetonius tells us that Claudius executed false holders of Roman citizenship.³⁰³ But fraud was hard to police, not least because there was no unified and central identification method and birth registration was not compulsory.³⁰⁴ Although bribery and other inducements may have played a role, some provincials acted as Roman citizens in good faith, apparently unaware of the legal procedure. In such cases citizenship was sometimes granted retrospectively.³⁰⁵ Moreover, while status usurpation by the living was banned, a legal loophole may have existed with regard to the dead, although one might question whether there was anything to gain from lying so outrightly on a gravestone which was visited most frequently by those who knew better. In any case, status usurpation by the living involved more than donning a toga and Reinhold places more importance on forgery of documents and changing of names than on dress imitation. In fact, Reinhold does not regard clothing, with the exception of official garb, as an important symbol of status.³⁰⁶ The relative scarcity of the toga on the portraits in our catalogue, coupled with the image that emerges from our stones that some people who were allowed to wear it chose not to, seems to point to a different motivation for choosing the toga than merely legal status. This will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5 below. The catalogue contains only one possible case of status usurpation. M11 from early 1st cent. Mainz shows a man in what may be a toga, although it is unclear. His name form with filiation, *Gratus Atiaci filius*, is, however, peregrine.³⁰⁷

It is, indeed, difficult to determine whether all those depicted wearing a toga on our stones were legally Roman citizens. For this reason, the toga is not regarded in this study as a certain identifier of citizenship. Instead, the focus will be on what, in a broader, cultural sense, the toga is likely to have symbolised for the people of our region. This leads us back to the unique character of portraits. Just as it is the expression of an ideal that interests us most about the portraits, we should also not be too preoccupied with the question as to whether or not all our *togati* were Roman citizens. For those potential usurpers, if indeed there are any on our stones, were nonetheless

²⁸⁷ E.g. T1-2, T16, T20, T22, M2, M4, M25, U1-2, U38.

²⁸⁸ E.g. T4, T6, T7, T92, M5, M22-23, M27, U5-6, U39, U44.

²⁸⁹ E.g. T7. In the case of fragments this is sometimes unclear.

²⁹⁰ E.g. T2, T9, T25, T31, T36-37, T63, T75, M22, M25, U5, U42-43, U46, U51.

²⁹¹ E.g. T26-27, T31, T33-34, T37, T63, T67, T81, T83, T88.

²⁹² E.g. T39-40, T73, T80 (?), T85, T101, M6, M12.

²⁹³ E.g. T28, T30, T33, T36-37, T40, T81, T83, T87-88, M13.

²⁹⁴ E.g. T24, T26, T28, T30, T37, T63, U13.

²⁹⁵ E.g. T8, T93, M12, M18.

²⁹⁶ E.g. T33-34, T36, T38-40, T73, T81-82, T88, T101.

²⁹⁷ E.g. M6, M12, M18, U7.

²⁹⁸ E.g. T30, T93, U41.

²⁹⁹ Space does not allow for a detailed analysis of the meanings of these attributes here. For this, the reader is referred, e.g., to Freigang's study of funerary art in the Mediomatrica and Treveran areas (Freigang 1997a). Instead, certain of them will be considered, when relevant, in the context of the discussion of dress behaviour in chapter 5.

³⁰⁰ Reinhold 1971.

³⁰¹ Goette 1990, 2.

³⁰² Plin., *Ep.* 4.11.3.

³⁰³ Reinhold 1971, esp. 276-278; Gardner 1986, 11; Suet., *Claud.* 15 and 25.

³⁰⁴ Gardner 1986.

³⁰⁵ E.g. Claudius and the Alpine tribes that assumed citizenship. For a description of this incident and a discussion of the sources see Reinhold 1971, 289.

³⁰⁶ Reinhold 1971, 282.

³⁰⁷ See also Boppert 1992b, 14f. for a discussion of signs of legal status on the gravestones from Mainz.

expressing how they or their relatives wished them to be seen by posterity. It is of much greater importance for questions of identity to see what people chose to wear when given the choice.

The scenes from everyday life on our stones, on the other hand, were intended as ‘snapshots’ from the lives of the deceased and, as a result, are more likely to show people wearing what they would have worn in the situations the scenes depict. Many of the people that appear in the everyday life scenes were not the deceased but, for example, their slaves, tenants, teachers or clerks. These people are unlikely to have had much say in how they were portrayed in the scenes. In fact, many of these figures may not have represented real individuals, but ‘types’. For example, a rent collection scene showing a landlord and five tenant farmers was intended to show that the deceased owned land. As such, the landlord may in reality have had more or less than five tenants, and these may have looked very different from those portrayed. Scenes from everyday life were media through which status and identity was displayed: in the occupational scenes, the importance of the deceased in their occupation is illustrated. This is especially clear when employees, tenant farmers and servants are included in the scenes. The private scenes show that the family could afford, for instance, servants, banquets, tutors for their children, hunting horses and gamekeepers, wagons and so on. On the other hand, the commissioner of the stone had nothing to gain from asking the stonemason to depict secondary figures in everyday life scenes in clothing they did not normally wear; the figures had to be easily recognisable in order for the scene to make sense. Of course, everyday dress may have been in much worse condition than the way it appears on the scenes; but holes, patches and frayed edges are more difficult to portray than a smooth surface, and would in any case not change the identification of the garment worn.³⁰⁸

The wide variety and intimate nature of many of the scenes further underlines the amount of thought that went into these grave monuments and the importance to their commissioners of eternalising the individual details of a person or family’s life. Beside acting as a unique and very visual ‘picture book’ of their daily activities, these scenes also offer important information as to the degree of their wealth and the source of their income, two factors that will play a role in the discussion in chapter 5. This aspect comes into its own when the inscription itself, which may have held such details, is lost, as is the case with the majority of the Treveran stones.

The inscriptions

It is not intended here to give a detailed analysis of the general value of epitaphs. Rather, this section serves to highlight the regional traits and specific problems of grave inscriptions in our region, because these are rele-

vant to the later discussion of correlations between different groups of people and dress choice based on the information in these inscriptions.

The inscription always included the name(s) of the deceased, in the pre-Flavian period usually in nominative followed (at the end of the inscription) by *H(ic) S(itus) E(st)*, and later in dative or genitive preceded by *D(iis) M(anibus)*.³⁰⁹ Sometimes the occupation is explicitly mentioned.³¹⁰ In the case of veterans, it is their previous profession which appears to be important. Often family details are given in the form of ‘wife of’, ‘son of’ and so on. Age is rarely stated on civilian stones, most often for youths whose untimely deaths rendered their age more noteworthy for their epitaphs.³¹¹

The inscription often also contains evidence of the legal status of the deceased in the possession of the *tria nomina*,³¹² the mention of the *tribus*³¹³ and in reference to an *uxor* or *coniunx*.³¹⁴ The extent to which these, particularly the *tria nomina*, can be taken as *proof* of Roman citizenship is, however, a matter of some debate.³¹⁵ Mann has pointed out that the fact that Claudius forbade the use of Roman *gentilicia* by peregrines implies it was happening, and the apparent absence of follow-up laws may mean he gave up pursuing the matter.³¹⁶ The issue is further complicated by the fact that both the *praenomen* and the *tribus* notation fell out of use in the 2nd cent. Boppert has also pointed out that the words *uxor* or *coniunx* may have been used more loosely, and has concluded that it is almost impossible to tell the exact legal status of people from their inscriptions, as there does not seem to have been any comprehensive official monitoring of the use of names.³¹⁷ In light of the above, these indicators will, in this study, be regarded as suggesting, as opposed to proving, Roman citizenship. In the case of freed status we are on more solid ground as *liberti* are generally explicitly stated as such,³¹⁸ and the mention of some form of filiation

³⁰⁹ The dating of this change is a matter of some debate and appears to have varied considerably across the different regions of the empire. The earliest known use in Lower Germany is on *CIL* XIII 8735 from the late 1st cent. Cf., however, recent assertions by Sauer for British inscriptions (Sauer 2005).

³¹⁰ A general trend has been established in Latin epigraphy that a great number of those who mention their occupation in inscriptions come from a slave background. Hope and others have suggested this has to do with the feeling of worth linked to the economic function of the individual in the community in the absence of free birth (Hope 2001, 53 with further literature).

³¹¹ See also Hope 2001, 20f.

³¹² E.g. T46, T62, M21, U1, U3 (?), U7, U9-10, U12, U19-20, U25, U42, U55. In four cases, a *praenomen* and *nomen* are given without a *cognomen*: T88, T160, M1, U5.

³¹³ E.g. U1, U3, U5, U10.

³¹⁴ E.g. T13-14, T32, T46, T62, T71, T83, T89, M21, U1, U8-10, U12, U16, U19, U24, U34-35, U37, U51.

³¹⁵ This problem emerges in Hainzmann 1985; 1987; Alföldy 1986. Weaver 1990 has identified informally manumitted, and, as such, non-citizen, slaves who used the *tria nomina*. See Boppert 1992b, 14 and Pflug 1989, 133 for reservations as to the reliability of the *tria nomina* as proof of status generally.

³¹⁶ Suet., *Claud.* 25.3; Mann 2002, 227. It is, of course, also possible that Claudius was the only emperor who was particularly worried about it.

³¹⁷ Boppert 1992b, 13f. See also Hope 2001, 21.

³¹⁸ E.g. U15, U42.

³⁰⁸ These kinds of details, if depicted at all, are more likely to have been painted on.

will usually mean free birth.³¹⁹ Nonetheless, again, the epitaph was not a legal document so there was no obligation to be exactly truthful or thorough in giving details on background or status. Slave status is more difficult to determine when not explicitly mentioned. In some cases, the name *suggests* its holder was a slave, or a *libertus*, when it belongs to that group of typical names, but this categorisation is somewhat subjective.³²⁰

The majority of inscriptions in our catalogue give only the *nomen* and a *cognomen*. Without further information, the status of people in this category must be regarded as uncertain. These names can, however, suggest the ethnic background of their holders, either in their origin or in the use of the pseudo-*gentilicium*, an idiosyncrasy of the Gallic and German provinces, in which patronymic *gentilicia* are formed by taking the father's name and adding an -i- before the -us.³²¹ Weisgerber has surveyed the origins of the Ubian names, while Hatt has concentrated on Gaul as a whole. The proportion of Celtic names is highest in our region in Arlon and Neumagen with 38%, while in Mainz the percentage is 16% and in Trier and Cologne 13%. Celtic names were generally in regression in inscriptions in the region over the course of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, while in the Treveran area, the proportion of Celtic names on inscriptions actually increased over time.³²² Hatt's explanation is that the increased economic activity drew indigenous people into the towns from the countryside. More problematically, he used the names to construct categories of varying degrees of Romanisation in different locations across Gaul.³²³ As Weisgerber has pointed out, language and ethnicity are not necessarily synonymous,³²⁴ and Boppert has pointed out that some of the 'indigenous' names from Mainz have appeared in other parts of the Empire, such as Noricum.³²⁵ Finally, some apparently Roman names, like Primus, Donatus, Silvanus or Pacatus, are suspected of originating from native names with similar meanings or sounds.³²⁶

Usually, the grave monuments are dedicated to a married couple and are generally commissioned by the surviving spouse in the event of the other's death, with or without the involvement of the couple's children. M12 from Mainz is illustrative of this process. The inscription tells

us that Menimane arranged the stone while she was still alive upon the death of her husband, Blussus, at the age of 75. Their son Primus made sure the stone was erected after his mother had died. Interestingly, small grooves on the portrait either side of Menimane's head may have held some sort of cover for her face while she was still alive that was removed when she died and the stone was erected in its final location. In the case of unexpected and premature death, the stone is usually dedicated to that person alone. The tragedy of the untimely departure of a loved one in itself presumably warranted a separate monument, as, apart from a very few unmarried adults,³²⁷ monuments in our catalogue were only dedicated to single people in the event of unanticipated death. In some cases, the stone depicts, and is dedicated to, an entire family and not just the couple. The reason for this is not evident, although it does appear to have been more common on larger monuments, especially in the Treveran area. It is not always clear on such monuments who of those family members mentioned in the inscription were alive when it was commissioned. The stone is likely to have been arranged upon the death of one of the family members by the survivors for themselves as well as the deceased. This is what is expressed in the formulation *et sibi vivus fecit*, or variations thereof.

Almost all funerary inscriptions include the details as to who was responsible for erecting the stone. In many cases, the stone was arranged by the commemoatee(s) while still alive, while other stones show the commissioners were those left behind. This either took the form of full name(s) in nominative, followed by their connection with the deceased, or a more anonymous reference to 'the brother', 'the son', 'the parents' or, simply, 'the heirs'.³²⁸ The following is a survey of the inscriptions in our catalogue that contain this information.³²⁹ Stones commissioned

during a person's lifetime (<i>vivus/os fecit</i>) ³³⁰	17
by a wife when the husband died ³³¹	10
by a husband when the wife died ³³²	7
by parents for children ³³³	6
by a patron ³³⁴	3
by survivors <i>ex testamento</i> ³³⁵	2
by a husband for a dead wife and child ³³⁶	2
by a brother and husband for sister/wife ³³⁷	2
by children for parents ³³⁸	2
by a parent for self and dead children ³³⁹	1

³¹⁹ E.g. T2, T62, M1, M11-12, M14, U1-3, U5, U17-18, U41.

³²⁰ E.g. T62, U5, U19, U33-34, U42. For Latin *cognomina* see Weaver 1964 and Kajanto 1965.

³²¹ E.g., to use Wightman's example, the father of L. Solimarius Secundinus was called Solimarus. This formation came to replace the earlier form of filiation, which in this case would have been Secundinus Solimari filius (1970, 50). Although Wightman regards the formation of -inius from -inus as a patronym, Weisgerber has shown that in some cases, especially in the Ubian area, the formation may also originate from indigenous names that ended in -inja (Weisgerber 1969; 1972. See also Boppert 1992b, 15).

³²² Hatt 1986, 30:

	1 st cent.	2 nd /3 rd cent.
Trier	0 %	44 %
Arlon	34 %	52 %
Neumagen	34 %	35 %

³²³ See Hatt 1986, 28ff.

³²⁴ Weisgerber 1969, 109ff.

³²⁵ Boppert 1992b, 20.

³²⁶ Wightman 1970, 51. See also Weisgerber 1969; Ternes 1972b; Wiegels 1989. For misgivings about Hatt's methodology see van Doorslaer 1967, 86.

³²⁷ E.g., it may be assumed, M14.

³²⁸ For a discussion of the reasons why relationships are the second most common specification after the name see Hope 2001, 62f.

³²⁹ Ternes' survey of the inscriptions from Luxembourg has produced very similar results, with a comparable variety of scenarios and a prevalence of commissions by wives on the death of husbands (Ternes 1992, 22f.).

³³⁰ T14, T32, T46, T62, T71(?), T83, T89, T156, T160, T162, M12, M25, U1, U9-10, U22, U35.

³³¹ T14, T60, T71, T89, T160(?), M12, M30(?), U16, U33, U37.

³³² T31, T83, T156, U2, U12, U19, U24.

³³³ T162(?), M1, M8, U13, U17, U20.

³³⁴ T113(?), U7, U32(?).

³³⁵ T115, U5.

³³⁶ M21, U35.

³³⁷ U8, U34(?).

³³⁸ T160(?), T170.

³³⁹ U22.

by heirs (*heres faciendum curavit*)³⁴⁰ 1
by a sibling for a dead sibling³⁴¹ 1

The frequency of the formulation *vivus fecit* on stones in our catalogue demonstrates that, when possible, arrangements were made for monuments before one died, and underlines once again that the form and appearance of the monument, including the clothing worn in the portrait, was a matter of importance. In a discussion of Blussus and Menimane's stone, Hatt once implied that the stonemason chose the clothing worn, stating that the artist had abandoned the complexity of the drapery of the toga for the more simple indigenous attire.³⁴² This view is unsustainable. Apart from the restrictions of social and legal conventions (Blussus was not a Roman citizen), a certain amount of personal choice must have been involved in the eventual design of the stone, and especially the clothing worn in the portrait. Although the relatively limited range of monument *styles* shows that, to a certain extent, artisans worked with, and duplicated, set models, the portraits themselves show an enormous variation in the type of dress and method of portrayal which can only be explained in the context of a similar variability in the wishes of the commissioners.³⁴³ As such, our stones reflect that although they may sometimes have made suggestions and set limits as to what was possible, the stonemasons were very much at the service of those paying for the stone.³⁴⁴

Summary: the advantages and disadvantages of grave monuments as a source for dress

From the above it has become evident that funerary monuments possess qualities that make them particularly valuable as sources for the questions central to this study, while also presenting specific problems. One shortcoming of funerary depictions in our region that has not yet been mentioned is the fact that although they show the form of garments, they reveal little about textiles, weaves and colours. We know from remnants still existing on a very few stones that the reliefs themselves will originally have been painted. However, surviving paint is so rare, and the capacity of this to reflect the reality of the colours worn (considering monument-painters may have had a limited palette) is so uncertain, that very little can be

reliably applied to the wider picture.³⁴⁵

Nor can this knowledge be adequately acquired from other sources. The aforementioned fresco from Trier showing a man in a brown shoulder cape is the only depiction of its kind in our region.³⁴⁶ Textile finds from neighbouring regions show that the most common fabric was wool (although linen has also been found and hemp, nettle, silk and cotton may also have been used), and that a wide range of dyes, patterns, weaves and decorations were used.³⁴⁷ None of this is visible on our stones, so this study must content itself with observing the garments worn as opposed to what they were made of. The possible ramifications of this will be discussed in the context of the Gallic ensemble in the Treveran area in chapter 5.

A second shortcoming of the gravestones as they survive today relates to the circumstances of their recovery. Only one of the monuments in our catalogue (U2) was retrieved with the skeletal remains of the woman to whom it was dedicated. All others were found after having been moved from their original locations. As a result, it is impossible to connect funerary remains with information on gravestones. Moreover, the distribution pattern for the stones is influenced by their secondary use in later structures. Nonetheless, as mentioned above, the fact that the majority have been linked to the larger settlements speaks in its favour.

Thirdly, the stones in our catalogue cannot be regarded as statistically, or even proportionally, representative of the population of the Rhine-Moselle region in the first three centuries AD. Both their uneven chronological distribution and small quantity in relation to the actual population discount this, as well as the fact that people from not all walks of life will have commissioned them. Conclusions can thus be only reached that pertain to the people who are represented in the stones and cannot be projected onto those who are not. Nonetheless, a sufficiently wide range of people are depicted for such conclusions to be both valid and valuable. The wealth of information contained on the stones, moreover, allows us to study dress behaviour in conjunction with other factors relating to the identity of those depicted.

Finally, the depictions on the gravestones that form the basis for this study are idealistic portrayals that may not quite correspond to reality. Nonetheless, Hodder's remark that "in death people become what they have not been in life"³⁴⁸ is perhaps not entirely true. The everyday scenes and personalised portraits display an unmistakable urge on the part of the commissioners not only to portray

³⁴⁰ M14.

³⁴¹ U36.

³⁴² Hatt 1966, 49.

³⁴³ Nerzic 1989, 224; Hope 2001, 88: "The language available was constrained by social convention, but individual choices were still made about what the epitaph should say and the monument represent. ... These were active decisions for which someone took responsibility. It is the inclusion and, at times, exclusion of these details which allow us to build up pictures of the dead and of the living. People subscribed to the conventions of what a funerary monument should be, but within this framework groups and individuals still gave expression to their own perceived identity and uniqueness ..."

³⁴⁴ See also Zimmer 1982, 54; Gabelmann 1987, 307: "Es ist davon auszugehen, dass die Bildersprache der Denkmäler den Intentionen und dem Geschmack der Besteller in Interaktion mit den Bildhauern sehr genau angepasst war."

³⁴⁵ According to Wild, a colour found particularly often is yellow (Wild 1985, 408). Paint on the Ingelheim statues (M20) show that the man was wearing a grey-green toga, the woman a light green bodice, red over-tunic and dark grey cloak and scarf (Schoppa 1960, 143).

³⁴⁶ RLT Inv. no. 43.5. Schindler 1977, Raum 15, no. 156 (B/W); Cüppers 1990, pl. 15b (colour).

³⁴⁷ Wild 1970a, 4ff.; 45ff.; 1970b, 267ff.; 1977, 27ff.; 1985, 407ff.; Schlabow 1976, 25ff.; Hundt 1970, 57ff.; Munksgaard 1974, 25. For types of textiles in the north-western provinces see Wild 1985, 407-409; Roche-Bernard 1993, 41-64.

³⁴⁸ Hodder 1982, 146.

wealth but also to give the viewer a snapshot, however fleeting, of their lives. The fact that the information used to construct an identity for the people on these stones may have been subject to selection and standardisation does not detract from its value. On the contrary, the unique quality of such monuments, carefully arranged, as they were, sometimes many years in advance, means the

clothing worn on portraits relates directly to how the individual or their surviving family members wished them to be remembered. In other words, through the clothing chosen for the portraits on our gravestones, we have the unique opportunity to observe how the people of the Rhine-Moselle region saw themselves.

4. THE TYPES OF DRESS IN THE RHINE-MOSELLE REGION

Introduction

This chapter aims to give a brief overview of the garments worn in the Rhine-Moselle region in the Roman period and to discuss their origins. It is important to point out at this stage that the scope of the term 'dress' in this study includes all *garments* worn by inhabitants of the region in the funerary art. It does not include shoes because these are very rarely identifiable on the depictions. The details of the shoes may, in many cases, have been painted on after the stonemason had finished his work, and we are again faced with the problem of the non-survival of this paintwork. In depictions of women, the shoes are often covered by the foot-length clothing. The cases of identifiable footwear are not numerous enough to be able to draw any meaningful conclusions and, as such, have been ignored.³⁴⁹ The same goes for jewellery, with two exceptions: the disc pendant and *fibulae* worn by many indigenous women on the Rhine, which seem to have been such integral components of the ensembles of which they formed a part. In light of this, the *fibulae* are treated as part of the garments they were used to fasten, but the disc pendant, not being a fastening but an independent item, is treated separately. The garments that are considered in this study are those which are visible in pictorial depictions. As such, the most intimate undergarments, which are not visible, cannot be considered.³⁵⁰

When establishing a typology, some generalisations are unavoidable, but necessary to create a workable model for identification. My own typology and description owes much to the work of Wild and, to a lesser extent, Böhme, although it differs in some cases from theirs.³⁵¹ The understanding of the origins and significance of some of the garments is not without controversy and must also be tackled if we are to derive any meaning from our observation of dress behaviour. For this reason, a discussion of the issues surrounding various of these precedes the general descriptive section.

Pre-Roman dress

Although of obvious significance to any question of cultural continuity, it is in fact very difficult to determine what was actually worn by the inhabitants of the Rhine-Moselle region before Roman conquest. Several ancient writers tell us that the men of Gaul and Germany wore trousers, a tunic and a cloak. Greek and Roman texts unfortunately say very little about women's clothing.

³⁴⁹ For shoes in the pre-Roman and Roman period, particularly in the north-western provinces, see especially the work of van Driel-Murray: van Driel-Murray 1986; 1987; 1989; 2001; 2004; Goubitz/van Driel-Murray/Groenman-van Waateringe 2001.

³⁵⁰ For Roman undergarments see Wilson 1938, 71ff. and 164ff.

³⁵¹ Wild 1968b; 1985; Böhme 1985.

Fibulae distribution tends to suggest that so-called 'Menimane's ensemble', named after a woman who wears this ensemble on a gravestone from Mainz (M12), or variations of it, was widely worn in the Rhine-Moselle region in the pre-Roman period. The dress of the Ubian women on Roman-period funerary art also has a very distinctive character, suggesting continuity with the pre-Roman dress. The issues surrounding these three ensembles are, however, complex. For this reason, and in order to achieve some clarity in the problem of pre-Roman dress, they must be discussed separately and in detail.

a) The trousers

A kind of trousers (Latin: *bracae*, Greek: ἀναξυρίδες) appear to have been worn by many of the peoples living to the north and east of the Roman Empire.³⁵² Various examples, both knee-length and full-length, have survived in Scandinavia and northern Germany,³⁵³ and they were probably introduced to Europe by the Scythians in the 6th cent. BC.³⁵⁴ Northern barbarians appear in them in official Roman art from an early stage. They seem, however, to have been particularly associated with Gaul, which Cicero refers to as the *bracatae nationes*.³⁵⁵ Strabo tells us that the Gauls wore a simple rectangular cloak, a hip-length tunic and breeches (4.4.3); Diodorus Siculus (5.30.1-2) tells us precisely the same,³⁵⁶ but both these authors are likely to have derived this information from Poseidonius. Pliny (*HN* 3.4.31) refers to Transalpine Gaul as *Gallia Bracata*. A dead Gaul in the form of a figurine from a *balteus* found in Alesia wears long trousers and nothing else.³⁵⁷ The impression given by ancient texts is that it was the clothing worn generally by the males of Gallic society.³⁵⁸

These trousers, however, do not appear on Roman-period

³⁵² These are not to be confused with the leg wrappings and gaiters seen relatively frequently on stones in Italy and other provinces, including Gaul, which were tightly wrapped or laced around the knees and ankles and which seem to have been a practical garment for hunting and some occupations. Roche-Bernard has suggested the short trousers of the Roman legionaries may have been inspired by contact with the northern peoples and their garments, perhaps during Trajan's campaigns (Roche-Bernard 1993, 19). For a discussion of the use of leggings by the Roman military see Sander 1963, 155-158; 164. For Roman military clothing in general see Sumner 2002; 2003. For leg wrappings in our region see the section 'Men's clothing' below.

³⁵³ Thorsberg and Marx-Etzelt: Schlabow 1976; Hochdorf: Biel 1980.

³⁵⁴ Munksgaard 1982, 41.

³⁵⁵ Cic., *Fam.* 9.15.2.6.

³⁵⁶ See also Cic., *Font.* 33. The ensemble short tunic, trousers and cloak has been found in Thorsberg in Schleswig-Holstein, Germany. See Werner 1941; Schlabow 1965; 1976; Raddatz 1957; Hald 1961.

³⁵⁷ Walter 1993, pl. LVII.

³⁵⁸ Hence the common depiction of the northern barbarian wearing trousers in Graeco-Roman art. See Kurzynski 1996, 66f. for a discussion of the programmatic and, hence, unreliable nature of classical depictions

4. THE TYPES OF DRESS IN THE RHINE-MOSELLE REGION

Introduction

This chapter aims to give a brief overview of the garments worn in the Rhine-Moselle region in the Roman period and to discuss their origins. It is important to point out at this stage that the scope of the term 'dress' in this study includes all *garments* worn by inhabitants of the region in the funerary art. It does not include shoes because these are very rarely identifiable on the depictions. The details of the shoes may, in many cases, have been painted on after the stonemason had finished his work, and we are again faced with the problem of the non-survival of this paintwork. In depictions of women, the shoes are often covered by the foot-length clothing. The cases of identifiable footwear are not numerous enough to be able to draw any meaningful conclusions and, as such, have been ignored.³⁴⁹ The same goes for jewellery, with two exceptions: the disc pendant and *fibulae* worn by many indigenous women on the Rhine, which seem to have been such integral components of the ensembles of which they formed a part. In light of this, the *fibulae* are treated as part of the garments they were used to fasten, but the disc pendant, not being a fastening but an independent item, is treated separately. The garments that are considered in this study are those which are visible in pictorial depictions. As such, the most intimate undergarments, which are not visible, cannot be considered.³⁵⁰

When establishing a typology, some generalisations are unavoidable, but necessary to create a workable model for identification. My own typology and description owes much to the work of Wild and, to a lesser extent, Böhme, although it differs in some cases from theirs.³⁵¹ The understanding of the origins and significance of some of the garments is not without controversy and must also be tackled if we are to derive any meaning from our observation of dress behaviour. For this reason, a discussion of the issues surrounding various of these precedes the general descriptive section.

Pre-Roman dress

Although of obvious significance to any question of cultural continuity, it is in fact very difficult to determine what was actually worn by the inhabitants of the Rhine-Moselle region before Roman conquest. Several ancient writers tell us that the men of Gaul and Germany wore trousers, a tunic and a cloak. Greek and Roman texts unfortunately say very little about women's clothing.

³⁴⁹ For shoes in the pre-Roman and Roman period, particularly in the north-western provinces, see especially the work of van Driel-Murray: van Driel-Murray 1986; 1987; 1989; 2001; 2004; Goubitz/van Driel-Murray/Groenman-van Waateringe 2001.

³⁵⁰ For Roman undergarments see Wilson 1938, 71ff. and 164ff.

³⁵¹ Wild 1968b; 1985; Böhme 1985.

Fibulae distribution tends to suggest that so-called 'Menimane's ensemble', named after a woman who wears this ensemble on a gravestone from Mainz (M12), or variations of it, was widely worn in the Rhine-Moselle region in the pre-Roman period. The dress of the Ubian women on Roman-period funerary art also has a very distinctive character, suggesting continuity with the pre-Roman dress. The issues surrounding these three ensembles are, however, complex. For this reason, and in order to achieve some clarity in the problem of pre-Roman dress, they must be discussed separately and in detail.

a) The trousers

A kind of trousers (Latin: *bracae*, Greek: ἀναξυρίδες) appear to have been worn by many of the peoples living to the north and east of the Roman Empire.³⁵² Various examples, both knee-length and full-length, have survived in Scandinavia and northern Germany,³⁵³ and they were probably introduced to Europe by the Scythians in the 6th cent. BC.³⁵⁴ Northern barbarians appear in them in official Roman art from an early stage. They seem, however, to have been particularly associated with Gaul, which Cicero refers to as the *bracatae nationes*.³⁵⁵ Strabo tells us that the Gauls wore a simple rectangular cloak, a hip-length tunic and breeches (4.4.3); Diodorus Siculus (5.30.1-2) tells us precisely the same,³⁵⁶ but both these authors are likely to have derived this information from Poseidonius. Pliny (*HN* 3.4.31) refers to Transalpine Gaul as *Gallia Bracata*. A dead Gaul in the form of a figurine from a *balteus* found in Alesia wears long trousers and nothing else.³⁵⁷ The impression given by ancient texts is that it was the clothing worn generally by the males of Gallic society.³⁵⁸

These trousers, however, do not appear on Roman-period

³⁵² These are not to be confused with the leg wrappings and gaiters seen relatively frequently on stones in Italy and other provinces, including Gaul, which were tightly wrapped or laced around the knees and ankles and which seem to have been a practical garment for hunting and some occupations. Roche-Bernard has suggested the short trousers of the Roman legionaries may have been inspired by contact with the northern peoples and their garments, perhaps during Trajan's campaigns (Roche-Bernard 1993, 19). For a discussion of the use of leggings by the Roman military see Sander 1963, 155-158; 164. For Roman military clothing in general see Sumner 2002; 2003. For leg wrappings in our region see the section 'Men's clothing' below.

³⁵³ Thorsberg and Marx-Etzelt: Schlabow 1976; Hochdorf: Biel 1980.

³⁵⁴ Munksgaard 1982, 41.

³⁵⁵ Cic., *Fam.* 9.15.2.6.

³⁵⁶ See also Cic., *Font.* 33. The ensemble short tunic, trousers and cloak has been found in Thorsberg in Schleswig-Holstein, Germany. See Werner 1941; Schlabow 1965; 1976; Raddatz 1957; Hald 1961.

³⁵⁷ Walter 1993, pl. LVII.

³⁵⁸ Hence the common depiction of the northern barbarian wearing trousers in Graeco-Roman art. See Kurzynski 1996, 66f. for a discussion of the programmatic and, hence, unreliable nature of classical depictions

civilian gravestones in these areas,³⁵⁹ except for one lower leg fragment from the Treveran area (T188) and a soldier inspecting cloth in an everyday life scene on T33. Civilian men on the earliest stones wear the Gallic ensemble as described below, while their wives wear clearly Iron Age native dress.³⁶⁰ How representative are these portraits? The majority date within the 2nd to mid-3rd cent. time bracket and are from the Treveran area. Wild claims that we have no evidence that the trousers did not continue to be worn into the 1st cent. by people not represented on the stones,³⁶¹ but this is rendered unlikely by the wide range of people represented in the scenes from everyday life, as outlined in Chapter 3. Indeed, the sheer number and variety of the occupational scenes on the Treveran stones seem to leave no major occupational group undepicted. It would appear that among the civilian population, trousers did, indeed, cease to be worn.

There is, however, one occupational group represented in funerary monuments in the area who *do* wear a type of trousers, and that is auxiliary soldiers. Although the present study is concerned only with the civilian population for reasons mentioned above, it is imperative to draw the military evidence into the discussion, in order to get to the bottom of 'what happened' to this garment. The trousers worn by auxiliary soldiers are tight-fitting (such that on some stones they look like bare legs) and either knee-length or (more commonly) full-length. Examples include cavalrymen like T. Flavius Bassus (Fig. 1) and C. Romanus Capito³⁶² of the *ala Noricorum*, a unit that was stationed in Mainz in the Neronian period and Cologne thereafter. Bassus' inscription tells us he was not a native of the Rhineland but from the tribe of the Dansali in Thrace, and Capito is from Celje in Slovenia, but both are still within the 'trouser region' of the ancient ethnographers and as such of relevance to the question. Could these tight trousers worn by auxiliary soldiers on the Rhine be the *bracae* of Roman ethnography?³⁶³ Tacitus' description of German dress in *Germania* tells us that they wore a cloak fastened by a *fibula*, or, failing that, a thorn, and that the "wealthiest of them are distinguished from the rest by clothing which is *not flowing like that of the Sarmatians and Parthians*, but *tight and showing each limb* [emphasis added]."³⁶⁴ It is clear that Tacitus is

referring to trousers here. The Sarmatians and the Parthians were well known for their trousers, and what other garments would *show each limb*, as opposed to just the arms?³⁶⁵ Tacitus' characterisation of this dress as *stricta* would certainly correspond to the appearance not only of the trouser ensemble worn by auxiliary soldiers on Rhinish gravestones, but also of an actual exemplar found at Thorsberg in northern Germany.³⁶⁶

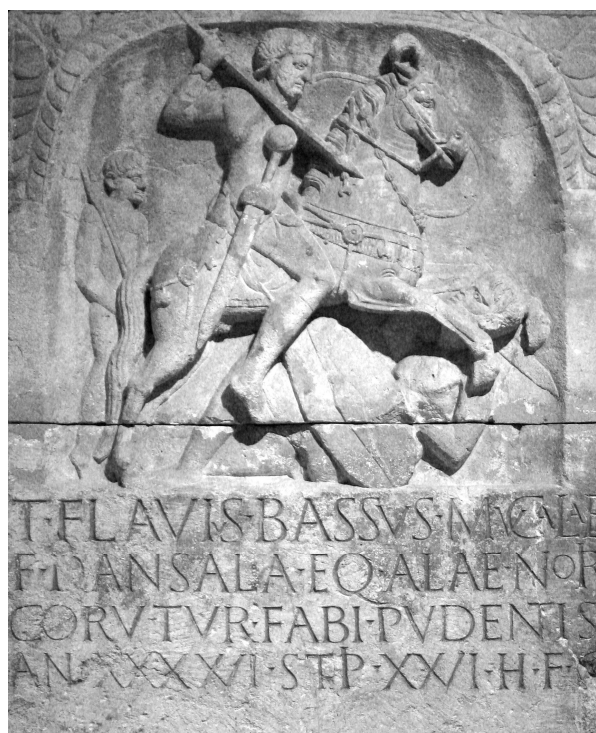


Fig. 1. Gravestone from Cologne for T. Flavius Bassus of the *ala Noricorum*, late 1st cent.

It is also of significance that the auxiliary soldiers who wear these trousers are cavalrymen, and the portrait style takes the form of the *Reitergrabstein*, usually showing the rider on horseback with lance raised for attack, with or without a barbarian enemy on the ground.³⁶⁷ Trousers are obviously the most practical garment for riding horses, and it is no coincidence that they were worn by peoples of the north and east who appear to have placed great importance on riding. It is, then, perhaps not surprising that auxiliary cavalrymen wear them. In this context it is perhaps also significant that Tacitus tells us that the tight garments he describes were worn exclusively by the *locupletissimi*, surely in a warrior society the cavalry? It is my proposal that the trousers were only *ever* worn by the

³⁵⁹ Nor, indeed, elsewhere in Gaul: see Roche-Bernard 1993, 18.

³⁶⁰ E.g. M12.

³⁶¹ Wild 1985, 410. The following applies also to the rectangular cloak described as having been part of the trouser ensemble by ancient sources, which also seems to disappear. Emphasis will, however, be placed on the trousers as they are the key feature mentioned and discussed in both ancient and modern literature.

³⁶² CIL XIII 7029; Boppert 1992a, no. 31; Selzer 1988, 156.

³⁶³ Other examples include the Helvetian Rufus of the *ala Hispanorum* (Boppert 1992a, no. 27) and other auxiliary soldiers stationed at Mainz (Boppert 1992a, nos 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36) as well as Urbanus from Trier (Wiltheim 1841, 169 and Abb. 104). The Claudian-Neronian rock carving at Schweinschied near Bad Kreuznach shows a similar but very weathered scene, but Andrikopoulou-Strack (1989-1990) has suggested the soldier depicted is a legionary.

³⁶⁴ Tac., *Germ.* 17: *Tegumen omnibus sagum fibula aut, si desit, spina consertum: cetera intacti totos dies iuxta focum atque ignem agunt. locupletissimi veste distinguuntur non fluitante, sicut Sarmatae ac Parthi, sed stricta et singulos artus experimente.*

³⁶⁵ See also Rives' commentary on this passage: Rives 1999, 197.

³⁶⁶ See, e.g. Schlabow 1965; 1976. This garment and other accompanying objects are thought to relate to military activity with the Romans further south.

³⁶⁷ For this type in general, see, *inter alia*, Schleiermacher 1984 and Mackintosh 1986. This type has obvious links to the scenes of soldiers riding down enemies in Classical Greek and Hellenistic art (e.g. the early 4th cent. Kerameikos stele for Dexileos and numerous depictions of Alexander the Great), but has also been shown, in an unpublished paper by Torsten Kleinschmidt (University of Jena), to have been a popular depiction on coins in the Celtic area from the 3rd-1st cent. BC, esp. in northern Spain, Gaul and Noricum.

warriors, and specifically by the cavalry, of the northern peoples, and *not* by all men.³⁶⁸

Indeed, when one looks takes a look slightly further afield geographically and temporally, one very quickly finds parallel examples of depictions of groups of men, the mounted ones of whom wear short tunics and trousers, and the non-mounted of whom wear long tunics of some description. Examples of this include Iron Age *situlae* from the alpine area, such as those of Providence and Vače³⁶⁹ and Pictish stones from Scotland.³⁷⁰ There are numerous examples, among the aforementioned northern European bog finds, of tunics worn by men without trousers in the period in question,³⁷¹ and this is considered an exclusively male outfit.³⁷² Scholars of Migration-Period and Viking dress in northern Germany and Scandinavia have interpreted the trouser ensemble as military clothing in these areas. This is indicated, among other things, in the fact that items from the trouser ensemble have been found in ritual deposits with weapons (as opposed to on bodies), which has caused Nockert to conclude that, “[l]ike the other objects found, [the garments] are probably more a part of military equipment than ordinary Germanic costume”.³⁷³ Also, the items are very often red in colour, and red has been seen as a visual symbol of the warrior class. In northern Europe, the trouser ensemble as warrior dress dates back to the Roman Iron Age, and perhaps before, and Nockert has concluded that it was only adopted by the other sections of the population in the early medieval period.³⁷⁴

One of the stones in the catalogue is also telling: M22 from Nickenich, which is dated to the mid 1st cent., shows a man in what appears to be military dress leading two men in chains. The latter have been identified as ‘barbarians’ due to their dress and their shoulder-length hair. The visible part of their clothing consists of a cape which is open at the front and held at the neck with a brooch. Although this is not the Gallic cape it is nonetheless also knee-length and is worn, importantly, without trousers. In other words, this stone from our region from an early period has a depiction of ‘barbarians’ not wear-

ing trousers. It is unclear exactly who these prisoners are meant to represent. The man has been interpreted either as a soldier who has captured prisoners of war, or a magistrate leading captives to be part of a local spectacle.³⁷⁵ Either way, the men depicted may not necessarily have been natives of the region, but it is very likely that they were from the wider cultural region of central and western Europe to which the trouser question applies.

If the trousers were indeed the clothing of warriors, and perhaps specifically cavalrymen, in north-west Europe, their demise has a related parallel: the weapon burials, common throughout much of Iron Age Europe, all but disappear from the archaeological record in our area in the Augustan era.³⁷⁶ It appears that a social shift occurred in which the martial culture and role of this group was considered unsuitable or rendered redundant as a result of incorporation into the Roman Empire. Parts of this group are likely to have joined the Roman military and became the *bracati* on the gravestones. Others may have moved to more peaceful occupations. The disdainful attitude of the Romans toward trousers may also have speeded its departure. As Wild has suggested, such a ‘barbaric’ item of clothing may have been perceived as an obstacle for progress in the new order.³⁷⁷

But the particular attention Romans paid to this item of clothing is also likely to be the reason they conveyed the false impression that all men in the north-west wore them: they were seen as strange and exotic. Consider the didgeridoo, widely thought of (beside the boomerang) as *the* symbol of the Australian Aborigines. The instrument itself was, however, only ever traditionally used in a relatively small region of northern Australia, a fact that, significantly for our problem, is not generally known in the wider Australian, let alone global, population. It came to bear such significance due to its distinctive form and character, which makes it an easily identifiable symbol. In view of the iconic nature of descriptions of trousers in Roman ethnography, it is more than conceivable that this distinctive item of clothing also held a symbolic value disproportionate to its actual use. The Romans initially had most dealings with the warriors of the northern cultures, as opposed to men in civilian roles. Moreover, as “le vêtement taillé et cousu par excellence”,³⁷⁸ so distinct from the Roman and Greek draped clothing, the trousers were an excellent visual identifier, in images and text, for the strange barbarians that lived in remote parts of the empire and beyond. Indeed, according to a passage in Suetonius, members of the urban Roman public saw the taking off of the breeches, and the donning of Roman dress, as symbolic of ‘becoming Roman’, as they sang a couplet during Caesar’s reign:

³⁶⁸ I am grateful to Dr. John Peter Wild of the University of Manchester for putting me on to this. Grave goods are also of interest in this context: in the 4th cent. BC–4th cent. AD necropolis at Wederath in the Treveran area, the large numbers of weapons in pre-Roman graves that indicated the presence of a warrior-noble ‘class’ decrease sharply after 20 BC. This indicates that the Treveran uprising of 29 BC, or, more importantly, its defeat, may have had a greater effect in this respect than even the conquest of Caesar. Many of the former warriors may have gone into the Roman military, others may have fled, but most will have continued to live in the area without, or with far fewer of, the martial elements of their culture. See Heinen 1985, 54.

³⁶⁹ Kurzynski 1996, 48; Lucke/Frey 1962.

³⁷⁰ E.g. the 8th-cent. Aberlemno II stone in Angus (see, e.g., Hooper 1993 for a discussion of the cavalry).

³⁷¹ E.g. Reepsholt in East Friesland, 1st–2nd cent. AD, where a man wears a wide, long tunic very similar to the Gallic tunic, and no trousers (Potratz 1942). See also Bernuthsfeld in northern Germany (Schlabow 1976, 72f.). The tunic found at Rønbjerg Mose in Jutland (Munksgaard 1982) turned out, intriguingly, to be late 15th cent. AD and South American (see Nielsen 1994).

³⁷² Munksgaard 1982, 42.

³⁷³ Nockert 1991, 120.

³⁷⁴ Nockert 1991, 126; 130. See also Hägg 1984, 166.

³⁷⁵ See the literature cited in the catalogue.

³⁷⁶ As shown in the large, recently excavated cemetery at Wederath, which was occupied from the 4th cent. BC to the 4th cent. AD (see Haffner 1974; 1989). For a discussion of the meaning of the decline in weapon burials at Wederath see Heinen 1985, 54.

³⁷⁷ Wild 1985, 378; 410. A similarly derogatory attitude was held by Europeans toward particularly the untailored clothing of natives of the European colonies, see Adamson Hoebel 1965, 18ff.

³⁷⁸ Roche-Bernard 1993, 17.

*Gallos Caesar in triumphum ducit, idem in curiam;
Galli bracas deposuerunt, latum clavum
sumpserunt*³⁷⁹

In the 1st cent. trousers were regarded as *tegmen barbarum* and Caecina shocked the Italians when he wore them on his march into Italy in AD 69.³⁸⁰ The evidence suggests that the trousers were increasingly adopted at Rome in late antiquity, most likely via the military, which adopted them when soldiers began to operate in cold northern Europe where tailored clothing, quite aside from its practicality for riding, is more suitable because it is warmer. On Trajan's Column we already see not only virtually all auxiliaries, but the emperor himself wearing trousers (in the latter case knee-length breeches), while the legionaries wear more traditional military dress. Just over 100 years later we are told Severus Alexander wore trousers, and the only thing the author points out is unusual about this is that his were white, not the customary red.³⁸¹ Nonetheless, trousers were still considered offensive enough in the late 4th cent. to be banned from the city of Rome.³⁸²

The descriptions of Gauls and Germans in trousers from Roman ethnography that find direct parallels in Roman official art of the period are evidence enough that trousers were worn by some Gauls and Germans at one stage, but it is not enough to prove that they were worn by all males all the time. An archaeological solution to this problem will never be possible, because so few actual pairs of trousers have been found. But in view of the fact that the earliest native civilian portraits show a trouserless dress ensemble for men, it is much more likely that this is also pre-Roman male dress that was worn by some men, while others, probably the horsemen, wore the trousers, and that the latter was extended by Roman ethnographers to the entire male populations of these regions as a result of their emblematic character. While this discussion has focussed on an item of clothing barely seen on the stones in this study, establishing its origins has direct significance for the origins and, hence, meaning, of the male dress most common on the stones which this study holds to be also pre-Roman: the Gallic ensemble.

b) The 'Gallic ensemble' and Menimane's ensemble

By far the most widely-worn dress in our area is Wild's 'basic Gallic ensemble': the sleeved Gallic tunic with the hooded Gallic cape for men and the rectangular cloak for women. But the origins of these ensembles are as obscure as the scholarship surrounding them is disparate.

First of all, there is a highly problematic compulsion in almost all literature mentioning clothing in the north-western provinces to marry Latin garment terms from ancient literature with garments seen in pictorial depictions.³⁸³ While this is already a perilous task with regard to Roman garments that will have had Latin names,³⁸⁴ it is especially unreliable when applied to provincial garments. The extent of this folly is apparent in the numerous names attached over time by various authors to the hooded cape worn generally by men on Gallic relief sculpture. In the older literature, Espérandieu refers to it sometimes quite simply as a coat, sometimes, like Kutsch and Lehner, as a *sagum*.³⁸⁵ Wilson calls it the *casula* after a reference in Isidore.³⁸⁶ In more recent literature, Andrikopolou-Strack, Freigang and many others have referred to the Gallic cape as a *paenula*.³⁸⁷

In the cases of Andrikopolou-Strack, Kolb and Langlois, this is not a methodological problem as it reflects their view that the Gallic cape was indeed identical to the Roman *paenula*. Similarly, Andrikopolou-Strack sees the Gallic tunic as identical to the Roman *tunica*. As such, the men depicted in this ensemble, it is argued, are actually wearing Italian dress. The *paenula*, as "the common coat of members of the Roman military", was, according to Andrikopolou-Strack, introduced to the northern provinces via the military.³⁸⁸ She goes on to say that the *paenula* and *tunica* outfit was not a very common one on 1st-cent. gravestones in the Mainz area. Although not incorrect, it is perhaps misleading not to mention that it is worn by some native civilians in this area in the 1st cent. and that it does become the main clothing ensemble in the centuries that follow in, it would appear, practically all of Gaul, including the neighbouring Treveran area and perhaps the Mainz area itself.

In contrast to the (older) views of Andrikopolou-Strack, Langlois and Kolb, more recent studies by Freigang, Boppert, Noelke and especially Wild and Böhme, see the Gallic ensemble as indigenous.³⁸⁹ As such, the use of the term *tunica* by Freigang for the Gallic tunic and *paenula* for the Gallic cape by both Boppert and Freigang is simply confusing.³⁹⁰ The calf-length, ungirt, long-sleeved Gallic tunic is clearly different in form from the Roman

³⁷⁹ Suet., *Iul.* 80.

³⁸⁰ Tac., *Hist.* 2.20; Plut., *Vit. Oth.* 6.3. See also Sherwin-White 1967, 58f.

³⁸¹ *Bracas albas habuit non coccineas, ut prius solebant* (SHA, Alex. Sev. 2.40).

³⁸² *Cod. Theod.* 14.10.2. It is an interesting question whether this was due to their nature as military or as 'barbaric' dress, or perhaps both. The two go very much hand in hand by this stage. The legislation, at any rate, is unlikely to have been very successful.

³⁸³ Wild is an exception.

³⁸⁴ As becomes obvious in the early work by Wilson 1938. Her descriptions are still, for the most part, accurate, much of her terminology, however, has been overhauled.

³⁸⁵ E.g. Lehner 1918, 288; Kutsch 1930, 174.

³⁸⁶ Wilson 1938, 95ff.

³⁸⁷ Freigang 1997b, 110; Andrikopolou-Strack 1986, 66; Kolb 1973, 88; Langlois 1959-1962, 202-204; Boppert 1992b, 24. See also Roche-Bernard 1993, 25f.

³⁸⁸ Andrikopolou-Strack 1986, 66; see also Kolb below.

³⁸⁹ Freigang 1997a; 1997b; Boppert 1992b Noelke 1998; Böhme 1985; Wild 1985. Cf. Wild's earlier work, in which he saw the Gallic cape and the Roman *paenula* as practically one and the same: Wild 1968b, 177f.

³⁹⁰ Willer has carried on with this terminology (both '*tunica*' and '*paenula*') in her discussion of the Rhenish gravestones, but does not make it clear if she considers them to be Roman or native garments (Willer 2005, 68-70).

tunica.³⁹¹ Additionally, the fact that it had such long sleeves, was worn well below the knees and was ungirt would have been regarded as inappropriate for men in the city of Rome.³⁹²

Moreover, the Gallic cape is different to the Roman *paenula*. The subject of the *paenula*, however, requires us to go into more depth as a result of the controversy that surrounds it. In 1973, Kolb published an article in which he attempted to clear the hitherto obscure distinctions between three coats mentioned in ancient sources: the *paenula*, the *lacerna* and the *μανδύη*. The majority of the article is however, in fact, given over to a comprehensive description of the history and use of the *paenula*. Although the study is highly valuable with regard to the Roman *paenula*, two of Kolb's assertions with regard to Gaul are problematic.

First, he claims that the Gallic cape is identical to the Roman *paenula* on the basis that it could be open or closed at the front, an opinion which, as seen above, was taken up by Andrikopolou-Strack.³⁹³ He attacks both Wild and Wilson for describing the Roman *paenula* as open at the front and held together by a lace or clasp, as opposed to the Gallic cape which was closed.³⁹⁴ Although he is right to draw attention to the fact that the *paenula* was not always fastened by a clasp or lace but could also be sewn at the front, he provides inadequate evidence that it was ever generally sewn from top to bottom. The most common depictions of the *paenula* in Italy and as worn by soldiers show a front seam varying in length from several inches to all the way to the waist. There is, however, always a split at the bottom where the front seam ends. Even the various literary sources that refer to the restrictive character of the *paenula* that Kolb cites as evidence do not prove that it was entirely sewn up.³⁹⁵ A cape sewn to the waist will also have restricted arm movement. In contrast, the Gallic cape was, save for two exceptions among the hundreds of examples in our area,³⁹⁶ always entirely closed at the front. In fact, a seam

down the front is never visible either. In attacking Wilson and Wild for their focus on archaeological (pictorial) evidence and championing literary evidence as more valuable, he has overlooked the fact that the ample funerary sculpture in Gaul and the Germanies show the *paenula* of the soldiers on their portraits to be very different to the cape worn by members of the civilian population in that the former always had a distinct front seam and was only ever partially sewn up, while the latter displayed no seam and was always closed.³⁹⁷ This is also evident in the way the different cloaks are folded back to reveal the arms if they are holding something: the two ends of the *paenula* are often shown thrown over the shoulders, while this is obviously not possible with the Gallic cape, as it is always raised up in a single fold of fabric to upper arm level.³⁹⁸

Second, like Andrikopolou-Strack, Kolb says, but without presenting any evidence for the claim, that the *paenula* was probably brought to Gaul by the Roman military.³⁹⁹ This is untenable for a number of reasons. The fact that the cape of the Roman soldiers was different in form from the Gallic cape was mentioned above. Moreover, the Gallic cape appears most frequently in the areas with the least military presence and in the periods of the least military activity, as, for example in our region, the Treveran area and the 2nd and early 3rd centuries. Even granting certain similarities between the *paenula* and the Gallic cape, is it not possible that different types of hooded cape were worn in Gaul and Italy respectively before the period under scrutiny? Or that they had a common ancestor? Is it not more probable, in fact, that the *paenula* originated in Gaul?⁴⁰⁰ The *paenula* is attested in Roman sources as early as the mid-Republican period,⁴⁰¹ but the Romans had long had contact with the Celts and other northern peoples, most proximately, of course, in Cisalpine Gaul. Various hooded capes, such as the *byrrus* and *caracallus*, were introduced from Gaul to Rome over the course of the Principate and rarely, it would seem, without causing concern, or at least amusement, on the part of the Romans.⁴⁰² Martial made fun of hooded capes at the end of the 1st cent.:

*Gallia Santonico vestit te bardocucullo
Cercopithecorum paenula nuper erat*⁴⁰³

coat to both the Gallic cape and the *paenula*. As there are only these two examples and it otherwise resembles the Gallic cape I have classified it as a Gallic cape.

³⁹⁷ Kolb 1973, 80. See also Wild 1985, 410f. For the *paenula* as used by the Roman military generally see Sander 1963, esp. 147-151.

³⁹⁸ A good example of this is T39.

³⁹⁹ Kolb 1973, 75.

⁴⁰⁰ The suggestion that the *paenula* was Gallic in origin was already made by Bieber in 1934 (Bieber 1934, 42f.) and repeated by Wilson 1938, 87ff. and Eckstein 1965, 2192f.

⁴⁰¹ Plaut., *Mostell.* 4.3.5.

⁴⁰² For a discussion of the Roman reaction to imported hooded capes see Doppelfeld 1970, v. Even the common Roman *lacerna* was originally a Gallic import according to Juv. 9.27-30. Kolb himself points out that the Romans were much more willing than the Greeks to take on foreign items of clothing, especially if they were more practical (Kolb 1973, 71).

⁴⁰³ Mart., *Epigr.* 14.128.

³⁹¹ When describing the clothing of the Gauls, Strabo distinguishes the Gallic tunic from its Mediterranean counterpart quite clearly: "instead of (our type of) tunic they wear slit tunics that have sleeves" (Strabo 4.4.3: σαγήφοροῦσι δὲ καὶ κομοτροφοῦσι καὶ ἀναξυρίσι χρώνται περιεταμέναις, ἀντὶ δὲ χιτῶνων σχιστοὺς χειρῶν τοὺς φέρουσι μέχρι αἰδοίων καὶ γλουτῶν.) The slit may refer to splits at the bottom of the side seams of the tunic that made it easier to wear, as can be observed on the *Reitergrabstein* images of cavalrymen on the Rhine (see Fig. 1.).

³⁹² Wild 1985, 410f. Although the Gallic tunic sometimes appears girt, this is only ever the case for men and women at work, such as dockmen and slave girls, and thus appears to have been girt for practical reasons, i.e. to avoid the tunic getting in the way. These girt tunics are, however, still recognisable as Gallic tunics due to the long sleeves.

³⁹³ Kolb 1973, 88.

³⁹⁴ Kolb 1973, 80. See Wilson 1938, 87ff. and Wild 1968b, 177f.

³⁹⁵ E.g. Kolb 1973, 81f.

³⁹⁶ T24 and T45, both from Arlon. The split at the bottom of the seam in both these examples is very small and may represent a whim of fashion. The split is certainly not large enough to be of any practical use. Alternatively, these coats may actually be *paenulae*, although this is highly unlikely as the rest of the garments worn are Gallic and Arlon is a long way from any military settlement. Böhme (1985, 435) identified these coats as a separate form to the Gallic cape on account of this split and called it the "*paenulaartige Umhang*". Perhaps it is indeed a separate

Similarly, Caracalla caused a sensation in Rome when he wore, and attempted to make popular, the coat to which he owes his name.

Wild has rightly stated,

[a]t a time when two Gallic capes, the *byrrus* and the *caracallus*,⁴⁰⁴ were becoming fashionable in the Mediterranean world, it would at the very least be ironic if the Gauls were adopting the Italian *paenula*.⁴⁰⁵

Equally unlikely is the implied scenario that the sunspoilt inhabitants of Italy should export a garment so obviously created for cold, wet weather to the inhabitants of the north, although of course pragmatism does not always play a role where fashion is concerned.⁴⁰⁶ In his survey of the various opinions as to the origins of the *paenula*, Kolb dismisses the possibility that it originated in Gaul on the grounds that thick, warm clothing must not necessarily come from the north. This is true, but not evidence for the contrary and one cannot deny that it would make sense. In fact, there is evidence of a flourishing *paenula* industry in Gaul which produced garments for export to Italy.⁴⁰⁷ Kolb's reasoning further that a hooded cloak could also be used for protection against the sun, although also true, is in this respect rendered meaningless by his own characterisation of the function of the *paenula* as *the* cold and wet weather cape of the Romans.⁴⁰⁸

It is impossible to make a definite judgement as to the precise origins of either the Gallic cape or the *paenula*, as the above discussion has shown. The most important consideration for the purposes of this study is the existence of continuity. If we accept that the Gallic cape was a garment worn by the people of our region before Roman conquest, it is largely irrelevant to the cultural processes in the period that this study is concerned with whether the Roman *paenula* originated from it or whether both garments had a common ancestor. It is, however, important to reject the idea that a garment like the Gallic cape was unknown to the people of our region before the Roman army introduced their own *paenula*, and that the Gallic cape was, as such, an introduced, Roman garment.

So, if the Gallic ensemble was indeed native in character, what *were* its origins? Assuming that the trousers were originally worn by all Gallic men, Roche-Bernard has suggested the men's Gallic tunic was the short tunic that had been worn with the trousers, worn long because the

trousers had disappeared.⁴⁰⁹ If, however, we concede that the trousers may not have been worn by the entire male population for the reasons outlined in the previous section, the Gallic male ensemble seen on our stones, i.e. the tunic and the cape, was the original dress of those Gallic men who did not wear the trousers, and thus represents a certain continuity.

Gallic women's dress, however, is not so easily explained, and must be looked at in more detail. What was the original dress worn by women in our region? For this, the Treveran and Middle Rhine areas may be taken together, as they were originally, before the establishment of the military zone along the Rhine separated them. The ensemble worn by Menimane in the early to mid 1st cent. (M12) appears to comprise of the basic components common to Iron-Age women's dress in northern Gaul, and, indeed, north-west Europe: a long-sleeved undertunic, a sleeveless, tube-like overtunic fastened at the shoulders, a rectangular cloak, a large disc pendant or torque and, often, a bonnet of some kind.⁴¹⁰ Unlike the trousers, this ensemble can be traced in the archaeological record due to its characteristic use of *fibulae*.⁴¹¹ Combinations of large *fibulae* that suggest they were applied in the fastening of an overtunic as worn by Menimane are found in grave contexts in the Treveran area from the mid La Tène period onwards.⁴¹² The pair over the shoulders is usually accompanied by a third over the chest and a fourth to fasten the cloak to the shoulder, as likewise worn by Menimane. The brooch finds indeed point to a wide distribution of this garment combination in the pre-Roman and early Roman era, with a concentration in the Moselle-Rhine area for the precise combination that Menimane wears.⁴¹³ The strong link between tribal identity and dress was identified by Böhme in an article of 1994 in which she shows clearly that the collared brooches worn by Menimane are almost entirely confined to the

⁴⁰⁹ Roche-Bernard 1993, 20.

⁴¹⁰ See Lång 1919 and Čremošnik 1964 for Pannonia, Noricum and Illyricum. This combination is also depicted on archaic Greek vases (Čremošnik 1964, fig. 8) and is likely to have formed the basis for Roman women's dress consisting of the *tunica* and the *stola* (Čremošnik 1964, 771). It continues in Viking and Anglo-Saxon women's dress (Owen-Crocker 2004). Space does not allow for a discussion of Čremošnik's contentious claim that it originated in archaic Greece (Čremošnik 1964, 773).

⁴¹¹ A garment similar to Menimane's overtunic with *fibulae* was found in an Iron Age context at Huldremose, Denmark; see Wild 1985, 393; Hald 1950, 372, fig. 427; Munksgaard 1974, 144, fig. 102; Gebühr 1976, 54ff.; Schlabow 1976, 95f. See also Wild 1985, 412 and Kurzynski 1996, 74-78.

⁴¹² Martin-Kilcher 1993, 185ff. The circumstances for analysis of changes in grave goods over long periods of time are favourable in the Treveran area: The extensive excavations of the graveyard at Wederath-Belginum (occupied from the 4th cent. BC to the 4th cent. AD), among others, have led to a number of valuable studies, including H. Leifeld's study of the *fibulae* of the Treveran area from the late La Tène and early Roman periods (Leifeld 2007).

⁴¹³ See distribution map in Wild 1985, 398. See also Decker 1968, 41-43 and map IV. See also Böhme 1978 for an example of a grave find at Rohrbach at the edge of Treveran territory with this combination: four large brooches (three for the overtunic, one for the cloak) and two smaller ones to fasten the neck of the bodice. All four of the large *fibulae* found at Rohrbach are, however, thistle brooches, while Menimane only uses one thistle brooch to fasten her cloak. The brooches she uses to fasten her overtunic are collared brooches.

⁴⁰⁴ For the Gallic origins of these two garments see Wild 1963 and 1964.

⁴⁰⁵ Wild 1985, 111.

⁴⁰⁶ The use of the Gallic cape in Pannonia is perhaps also illuminating: in this region, members of the higher social classes adopted Roman clothing or elements thereof, while only the lower classes wore the Gallic cape, especially the labourers. It seems unlikely that these people should have taken on a Roman garment (see Lång 1919, 250).

⁴⁰⁷ Schlippschuh 1974, 51ff.

⁴⁰⁸ Kolb 1973, 89f. See Hor., *Epist.* 1.11.18; Juv. 5.76ff.; Mart., *Epigr.* 14.130.

Treveran area. She uses the eastern concentration of the distribution of two special forms, Form Mainz-Andernach and one with mask decoration, to argue for a separate tribal identity of the people of the eastern Treveran area, but the very clear distribution of another form, Trier-Winchester, which is almost identical to the territory of the Treveri, shows that there was an overriding Treveran ethnic identity throughout the territory, even if there were smaller sub-tribal units.⁴¹⁴ Unfortunately, it is unclear just what form of collared brooch Menimane is wearing.

Grave finds of these and all other *fibulae* decrease rapidly from the end of the 1st cent. onwards, suggesting a change in dress.⁴¹⁵ The ensemble worn by the majority of women on our stones, which date largely to the 2nd and early 3rd centuries, does not appear to require *fibulae*. The long-sleeved, fitted and ungirt 'Gallic' tunic that is worn is, on the other hand, also not the Roman *tunica* (which was baggy, girt below the bust and had short or no sleeves) and the rectangular cloak is draped in un-Roman ways. It is clear that this is indeed native dress, but perhaps not the dress originally worn by the indigenous women. A degree of continuity is, however, likely: Menimane does, after all, wear a long-sleeved bodice and a rectangular cloak, and the bonnet that is often worn with the female Gallic ensemble is identical to Menimane's bonnet. Indeed, one need only remove her overtunic and the *fibulae* to arrive, more or less, at the Gallic women's ensemble. When compared with the men's tunic, however, it is also evident how similar the garments are; indeed, the female Gallic tunic appears in its various forms as virtually identical to the men's tunic, but reaching to the feet instead of to the calves. As such, Wild may be right when he says the Gallic women's tunic is simply a longer version of the men's.⁴¹⁶ This is particularly interesting in light of the fact that we see the male version of this garment on the earliest civilian monuments in the area, but the female version does not appear until at least half a century later. In any case, various types of long-sleeved tunic were common to the garment ensembles worn by the inhabitants of all of north-western Europe and feature in various peat-bog finds.⁴¹⁷ Moreover, many small votive statues from the 1st cent. AD that have been

found at the source of the Seine were dedicated by indigenous Gauls for the Celtic river goddess Sequana and depict both men and women in the Gallic ensemble. The indigenous and rural origins of these statues coupled with their early date underlines the indigenous and rooted nature of the clothing they depict.⁴¹⁸

This, and the preceding discussion of the origin of the Gallic male ensemble, contrast somewhat with Freigang's views in her study of the Treveran gravestones. In her opinion, both the male and female ensembles present newly invented garments that aspire to imitate the drape and style of Roman garments. What she fails to explain, however, is, if that is the case, why these people, who allegedly aspired to Roman clothing styles, did not simply wear Roman dress. This point will be picked up on later in the discussion of 'The Gallic ensemble' in the Treveran area in chapter 5. At this stage it is necessary to emphasise that the Gallic ensemble, both male and female, is both Gallic in character and, importantly, represents continuity, even in the face of a certain amount of change. The Gallic tunic and cape may, indeed, have been subject to very little change. On this point it is significant that Menimane's husband, Blussus, wears the basic Gallic ensemble.⁴¹⁹ If Menimane is wearing the original women's dress of the region, the very early depiction of the Gallic tunic and cape worn by Blussus indicates that these, too, were original Gallic garments, and not Romanised inventions.⁴²⁰

In any case, the basic Gallic ensemble for both men and women was distinct from Roman dress. As such, any use of Latin terms for these garments is unnecessary and misleading, and, following Wild's example, such terms shall be avoided in the present study in favour of neutral, workable terms.⁴²¹

c) Ubian women's dress

The final garment ensemble of our region that requires more detailed discussion is the distinctive clothing worn by many women in the Ubian area. A more precise description of the single components follows in the description of the garments in the second part of this chapter. In short, the ensemble consists of a long tunic (and perhaps overtunic), a large semicircular cloak drawn around both shoulders and held by a clasp across the stomach,⁴²² a

⁴¹⁴ Böhme-Schönberger 1994. See also Klumbach 1959, who identifies in epigraphic evidence a subgroup of the Treveri in this region called the Aresaces.

⁴¹⁵ Although, as Wild has pointed out, the *fibulae* do not entirely disappear and show that the ensemble may have continued to be worn well into the 2nd cent. in rural areas (Wild 1985, 412). See the summary of the finds at Wederath-Belginum in Freigang 1997b, 111 note 20 and Leifeld 2007. I am grateful to Dr. Hubert Leifeld of the Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Rheinland-Pfalz in Koblenz for discussing his research on the *fibulae* of the Trier region with me. He assured me that the drop in the frequency of *fibula* finds does not correspond to an overall drop in grave goods, making a change in dress the only feasible explanation. *Fibulae* were, of course, not only worn by women. For instance, they were originally used to fasten the cape that went with the trousers and short tunic mentioned in the previous section, but it is not often possible to attribute brooches to gender. H.W. Böhme has shown the *fibula* pattern returning as migration from Germany set in in the 4th cent. (Böhme 1974, 19ff. and 158ff.).

⁴¹⁶ Wild 1985, 412.

⁴¹⁷ Wild 1985, 377f.

⁴¹⁸ Martin 1963; Kurzynski 1996, 55.

⁴¹⁹ I fail to see the vast difference between Blussus' cape and the Gallic cape on the Treveran gravestones that Freigang has postulated, arguing that latter was made from more fabric (Freigang 1997b, 111). Ironically, Böhme thinks the opposite: her description of Blussus' cape is that it is similar to the Gallic cape, but made from *more* than a semicircle of cloth (Böhme 1985, 430 & 435).

⁴²⁰ Wild suggested in 1968 that the Gallic male ensemble may be linked to the substrate population around the lower Rhine and Schelde area that predated both Germans and Celts as identified by linguists in 1962 (Hachmann/Kossack/Kuhn 1962, esp. 127f.).

⁴²¹ For a discussion of the use of "post-Roman" terms for garments see Wild 1985, 364. Not all the terms are taken from Wild and Böhme as my typology differs somewhat.

⁴²² Curiously similar to the cloak worn by native women in Illyricum, see Čremošnik 1964, 760ff.

disc pendant around the neck very similar to the one also worn by Menimane and the characteristic spherical bonnet. It is worn by the autochthonous Matron deities on votive stones from the region (Fig. 2).⁴²³

Most of these stones were uncovered during the course of energetic archaeological activity in the 19th cent. The unusual clothing immediately attracted attention, and authors of the late 19th and early 20th centuries offered various theories as to the use, and extent of use, of this dress by Ubian women.⁴²⁴ There seems to have been agreement that it must have existed to some extent in mortal life, although it was unclear whether women copied the dress of the deities or whether the deities were dressed like the local mortal women. Bickel argued for the former and suggested the ensemble was only worn on special occasions within the religious ritual of the Matron cult.⁴²⁵ Later work by Hahl and von Gonzenbach and, more recently, Wild has shown that the Ubian ensemble found much wider use in Ubian life.⁴²⁶



Fig. 2: Votive altar for the Matronae Aufaniae from Bonn

The ensemble is worn by mortal women on various stones from the Ubian region. Only some of these depict scenes from religious ceremonies surrounding the Matron cult, and the numerous women on one stone from Bonn are unlikely all to be priestesses.⁴²⁷

The bonnet appears in various styles and sizes on the known depictions. The largest and most conspicuous are worn by Matron deities on votive stones. However, the size of the bonnet may have varied according to who was

wearing it and on what occasion. The fact that the Matrons themselves seem to wear the largest bonnets may be intended to express their supernatural status.⁴²⁸ On the votive stones, the Matrons are usually depicted in a group of three, with the outer two wearing the bonnet, the one in the middle no bonnet at all. It has thus been suggested that the bonnet was the symbol of the married woman.⁴²⁹

The Matron depicted in the middle would then be a young, unmarried woman. This is plausible: sartorial expression of women's marital status is common to many cultures and the passing from the virginal to the married state was, and is, considered significant in many societies, including until very recently our own.⁴³⁰

However, a number of stones in our catalogue appear to confound this theory. Two meal scene portraits from Cologne (U9, U10) show toga-clad legionary veterans reclining while their wives sit at their feet in the manner of the Matron deities, in high-backed chairs with bowls of fruit in their laps and wearing the Ubian ensemble. The two women depicted are certainly married, as they are mentioned by name and as *coniunx* and *uxor* respectively in the inscriptions, but they do not wear bonnets. Another stone from Thorr (U59) shows a procession (funerary? religious?) of ten people, five of whom are women in Ubian dress, also without the bonnet. Although it is possible that all of these women were indeed unmarried, it seems unlikely in view of the five men they are depicted with, who are presumably their husbands, unless, of course, a mass wedding is depicted, in which case they would still be virgins. If this is indeed a funerary procession, the lack of the bonnet may be a sign of mourning. It does, however, seem probable that the bonnet distinguished women of a particular status, either social or religious, if not perhaps necessarily marital.

There are several depictions of mortals wearing the bonnet in various forms, of which the most illuminating are two portrait heads, one in bronze from somewhere on the Lower Rhine,⁴³¹ and one in stone from Cologne (U6). The former shows a quite small bonnet but the latter depicts a much larger version, of the sort worn by the Matrons themselves. While it is possible that this depicts a Matron and not a mortal, if it is indeed a portrait, which it has been assumed to be, it is the only known example of an everyday woman wearing the very large bonnet.

So what are the origins of the Ubian ensemble? In this

⁴²⁸ Wild 1985, 402.

⁴²⁹ Hahl/Gonzenbach 1960, 36f.

⁴³⁰ In the late 1930s, Bickel's attention was drawn to a photograph showing an intriguing traditional ensemble then still in use in the remote valleys of far western Austria. It consisted of three women, the two outer ones standing and wearing enormous spherical bonnets identical in appearance to those of the Ubian women, the middle one sitting and wearing no bonnet, just as the Matron deities are depicted (Bickel 1938-1939, 220 and pl. 32.2). Although this may be a coincidence, the Austrian dress may have some remote connection to our Ubian ensemble. Unfortunately, the information Bickel received concerning the meaning and details of the dress seems to have been contradictory, although it is interesting that one correspondent referred to the woman in the middle as a virgin (Bickel 1938-1939, 220).

⁴³¹ Delbrück 1950; Wild 1985, 401f.; 1968a, 69, pl. 17, 1a, 1b; 1968b, 211.

⁴²³ For the *Matronae* in general, see e.g. Bauchhenß/Neumann 1987.

⁴²⁴ E.g. Hahl 1937; Bickel 1938-1939.

⁴²⁵ Bickel 1938-1939, esp. 214ff.

⁴²⁶ Hahl/Gonzenbach 1960; Wild 1968a; 1985, 412.

⁴²⁷ Petrikovits et al. 1963, 62 no. 20.

respect, the apparent connections with the ensembles worn by both Menimane in the Middle Rhine area and the goddess Nehalennia further down the Rhine are significant. The most obvious visual link with Menimane's ensemble is the conspicuously large, decorated disc pendant worn around the neck in both ensembles. The area inhabited by the Ubii before they were relocated by Agrippa lies directly across the Rhine from the Middle Rhine area, where most depictions of Menimane's ensemble are found, so the disc pendant is an illustrative sign of the cultural links between these peoples. The large cloak worn by the Ubian women frustratingly covers most of the body garments, but it is very likely that beneath it one would find an overtunic similar to Menimane's.⁴³²

Further down the Rhine, the indigenous goddess Nehalennia, whose name and appearance were preserved for posterity in the numerous votive stones dedicated to her that have been found in Domburg and Colijnsplaat in the Rhine delta, wears similar dress to the Ubian Matrons (Fig. 3).⁴³³ The bonnet and tunic(s) are almost identical. The cloak is worn in a similar manner around the shoulders and held with a clasp at the front, but it is much shorter, hanging to approximately elbow length. Although Nehalennia's dress is restricted in depictions to the goddess herself, it is possible that, like the Ubian ensemble, it was part of the traditional dress of women in the Rhine delta region. A shoulder cape similar to that worn by Nehalennia was found in Krogers Mølle Moss, Vendsyssel in Denmark, suggesting a wider distribution among the Germanic-speaking peoples to the north-east of the Roman frontier.⁴³⁴



Fig. 3. Votive relief for Nehalennia found in the Oosterschelde, 2nd cent. AD

⁴³² Wild 1985, 412.

⁴³³ Hondius-Crone 1955; Stuart/Bogaers 1971. For Nehalennia in Cologne: Jenkins 1956; Doppelfeld/Biegel/Bracker 1975, 747f., pl. XI 16.

⁴³⁴ See Wild 1985, 404f. For the cloak from Denmark see Munksgaard 1974, 126ff.

The distribution of the Ubian ensemble in its distinctive form corresponds to the territory known to have been inhabited by the Ubii after relocation and can as such be considered a characteristic garment ensemble of the Ubian tribal group.⁴³⁵ Given the character and the distribution of the ensemble and its links to other garment ensembles associated with the native peoples in this area and further to the north and east, it seems almost certain that it is indeed the original dress of the mortal Ubian women. It seems most logical that it was transferred to the Matron deities, as they began to be depicted in human form, to identify them as Ubian deities. Weisgerber has shown that remnants of Germanic language can be found in the Ubian dialect until as late as the 3rd cent. AD⁴³⁶ Ubian women's dress would appear to be "a parallel survival from the Germanic Iron Age."⁴³⁷ According to Wild, the Ubian women's and Nehalennia's ensembles were "an intrusive element brought across the Rhine by Germanic-speaking people in the early Roman period".⁴³⁸ In this light, the persistence of the ensemble into the 3rd cent., in contrast with the apparent early extinction of Menimane's ensemble, is significant and will be discussed in detail further below.⁴³⁹ Before the results of surveying the funerary monuments can be discussed, a brief descriptive overview of the garments involved is necessary.

Garment descriptions

The garments and garment ensembles worn in the Rhine-Moselle region have been divided into the subgroups 'Roman' and 'native' based on the discussion in the sections above. While the author is aware these two terms have recently been regarded as problematic classifications,⁴⁴⁰ at least in a cultural context, it is nonetheless highly relevant to the cultural processes under scrutiny in our area and the symbolic value of the clothing that some garments were imported, while others originated within the provincial population. As such, the term 'Roman' in this section is used to denote items of clothing that found wider use in the Empire, and were imported to our area. 'Native', on the other hand, is the term chosen to denote garments that originated within the indigenous population of our area. A separate section for occupational clothing lists garments that were specific to certain tasks or occupations and, as such, cannot be classified as either 'Roman' or 'native'.

⁴³⁵ There are two exceptions: the altars from Zazenhausen and Mümpling-Grumbach, both places in the *Agri Decumates*. See Wild 1985, 403 with note 143.

⁴³⁶ Weisgerber 1968, 376ff.

⁴³⁷ Wild 1985, 403 meaning the pre-Roman Iron Age of the Germanic-speaking regions. Cf. Roche-Bernard, who says, inexplicably, that the ensemble shows "une forte influence romaine" (Roche-Bernard 1993, 13).

⁴³⁸ Wild 1985, 412.

⁴³⁹ See the section 'The Gallic ensemble' in the Treveran area and 'Ubian women's dress' in the Ubian area in chapter 5 below.

⁴⁴⁰ See Freeman 1993; Cooper 1996; Barrett 1997; Hingley 1997; Hill 2001.

In general, the (native) clothing of the north-west consists more of tailored garments such as sleeved tunics and capes, as opposed to the more loose and draped style of Roman clothing. This is largely due to the climate: fitted garments are warmer than draped garments.

Although a great deal of descriptive literature exists for both the Roman and native clothing discussed below, it is nonetheless necessary to briefly present an overview of the garments that appear on our stones and in our typology. There are two reasons for this: First, previous literature is far from reaching a consensus on a number of the garments, such as the *stola* and the Gallic cape. Second, the typology and descriptions made by previous authors have not been blindly followed in this study, and the many divergences from these, especially in native clothing, need to be presented and justified. In short, the author feels that a study that bases conclusions on the use of particular garments must first make clear what is meant when a particular garment is referred to. On the other hand, the following is not intended as a comprehensive study of each of the garments mentioned. For that the reader is referred to the relevant literature cited in each section.

a) Men's clothing

Roman clothing:

The *tunica* (A103)

The Roman tunic was a rectangular garment, either folded or sewn at the top and down the sides leaving slits for the arms and head. It was usually worn with a belt (except when the wearer was in mourning) to achieve the right length to just below the knee.⁴⁴¹ In its classic form it had no real sleeves: the overhang of the top seam or fold across the shoulders formed false sleeves. But there are some depictions of it with short sleeves that were not added but woven with the rest of the garment on the loom.⁴⁴² According to ancient authors, long stripes down either side at the front and back indicated status: the broad stripe (*latus clavus*) was worn by senators,⁴⁴³ the narrow stripe (*latus angusticlavus*) by equites.⁴⁴⁴ As time progressed, however, it appears that almost all tunics had stripes of some description, causing Pliny to complain that, in his day, even town criers wore the wider stripe.⁴⁴⁵ Virtually all images of tunics and extant items from late antiquity (e.g. from the Fayyom) show tunics with *clavi*. The *tunica* was usually worn with an overgarment such as a toga or other cloak by men of higher social rank. Only common folk wore the tunic on its own and, as such, it is rarely seen in this form on pictorial depic-

tions.⁴⁴⁶

The toga (A301)

The toga was considered the Roman national garment. Virgil referred to the Romans as the *gens togata*,⁴⁴⁷ and other literary evidence to this effect is plentiful.⁴⁴⁸ It was worn over the *tunica* and, like it, had features which expressed the wearer's status: free citizen children and magistrates wore the *toga praetexta* with a purple border, candidates for public office wore the pure white (=chalk-bleached⁴⁴⁹) *toga candida*. There were also special togas for victorious generals (*toga picta*) and the emperor (*toga purpurea*). By law the toga could only be worn by Roman citizens, and, as such, it was a visual symbol of this status.⁴⁵⁰ However, ancient literary sources refer to the impracticality of the garment and the lack of enthusiasm with which it was often worn. The most comprehensive condemnation can, of course, be found in Tertullian's plea for the wearing of the *pallium*, *de Pallio*, in which he describes in full detail the painstaking preparation that went into the toga before it could be worn and its awkwardness once on.⁴⁵¹ As a result, the toga will probably only have been worn in situations in which the wearer was obliged to do so. Indeed, Juvenal says that in some parts of Italy, men only ever donned the toga when they were dead.⁴⁵² It is unclear whether Juvenal is referring to gravestone portraits or the dress worn by the deceased at the funeral, but it is safe to assume that many of the men depicted in the toga in their grave portraits will not have worn it often in their everyday lives. This does not, however, detract from its symbolic value.

Unlike many of the garments under consideration, the toga changed in style considerably over the time frame of this study. In its basic form, it was a large semicircle of wool. Over time, it was draped in different ways, until it was eventually worn like a large scarf.⁴⁵³ For the purposes of this study, the development of the toga has been divided into the four most significant changes in style over the period, creating four subdivisions:⁴⁵⁴

The *toga exigua*⁴⁵⁵ (A301,1) of the late Republican period was smaller than later versions and was a simple semicircle in shape. It was usually worn draped around both

⁴⁴¹ Quint., *Inst.* 11.138: worn below the knees the men's tunic was "the dress of a woman", above them "the dress of a centurion". Frescos in Pompeii show people in tavern scenes with ungirt tunics, suggesting the tunic could also be worn ungirt in an informal environment (see, e.g., Coarelli 2002, 146).

⁴⁴² Wilson 1938, pl. XLI, fig. 47.

⁴⁴³ Cf. Suet., *Tib.* 35; Suet., *Claud.* 24.

⁴⁴⁴ Cf. Vell. Pat 2.88.

⁴⁴⁵ Plin., *HN* 33.29.

⁴⁴⁶ Zimmer even considers the *tunica* on its own to be the "standesspezifische Tracht" of craftsmen (Zimmer 1982, 66). Tac., *Dial.* 7 refers to the common people as the *tunicatus populus*.

⁴⁴⁷ Verg., *Aen.* 1.282.

⁴⁴⁸ See the section 'The toga' in the Treveran area in chapter 5 below.

⁴⁴⁹ Isid., *Etym.* 19.24.6.

⁴⁵⁰ But see discussion on status usurpation in the section 'Portraits vs everyday life' in chapter 3 above.

⁴⁵¹ Tert., *De pall.* esp. 5.1-2.

⁴⁵² Juv., 3.171.

⁴⁵³ Wilson, in her seminal work on the toga, asserted that it changed in shape over time to make it drape in the various ways (Wilson 1924), but Goette has more recently shown that all the modes of draping were possible from the original shape of the imperial toga with *sinus* (Goette 1990).

⁴⁵⁴ For a more detailed and nuanced view of the changes to the style of the toga over time, still the most comprehensive and useful study is Wilson 1924.

⁴⁵⁵ This term is derived from a passage in Horace (*Epist.* 1.19.12-14) and may not have been used by the ancients as widely as it is now used by modern scholars (Stone 1994, 16).

shoulders in a simple U-shaped fold across the front of the body, resembling the customary depiction of the Greek *pallium*.⁴⁵⁶

What Wilson calls the 'imperial toga' (A301,2) came into fashion at the beginning of the imperial period. It appears larger than all previous versions and had an extra arc of fabric added to the shape of the cloth above the straight edge (*sinus*). This allowed it to be draped in a more complicated fashion as the *sinus* created a double layer of border. It was now usually worn over the left shoulder only, and draped in a diagonal manner leaving the right shoulder and arm free. A huge amount of fabric was gathered over the left shoulder and a small flap (*umbo*) was pulled out over the front diagonal.⁴⁵⁷

In the Antonine period (Antonine toga: A301,3), a slightly more practical version began to appear in which the top edge, instead of being gathered into folds, was rolled into a tight roll and the whole toga was wrapped more tightly around the body.⁴⁵⁸

In the early 3rd cent. (3rd-cent. toga: A301,4) the top edge was fashioned into a thick band that ran virtually horizontally from under the right arm over the top part of the left arm. By the end of the 3rd cent., this band had a more pleated than flat appearance and the entire toga was worn much shorter.⁴⁵⁹

The *pallium* (A204)

The *pallium* was a simple, large, rectangular cloak wrapped around the body, either over one or both shoulders. In some depictions it is difficult to distinguish from the toga. However, on standing portraits it is possible because the latter always had a curved hem and an end of fabric hanging between the ankles and the *pallium* did not. The Romans regarded the *pallium* as part of Greek national dress, and it corresponded to the Greek *himation*.⁴⁶⁰ Although as a result of this it has often been associated with philosophers and, later, Christians, it was probably fairly widely used in Rome. Tertullian famously argued for its use by all Romans and mentioned that even Cato wore one in later life.⁴⁶¹ Although the distinction is not made so clearly in ancient texts, for clarity's sake the female version of this garment goes by the name *palla* in this study.

The *sagum* (A205)

The *sagum* was also a simple rectangular cloak but smaller than the *pallium* and usually worn folded double. It also may have been of thicker fabric. Among the most helpful depictions of the *sagum* that survive are numer-

ous reliefs from Trajan's Column. It was generally fastened over the chest or at the shoulder using a brooch. With its smaller version, the *sagulum*,⁴⁶² it came to be known as the characteristic cloak of Roman soldiers.⁴⁶³ Perhaps this was because its thickness and rectangular form meant it could double up as a blanket at night.⁴⁶⁴ It was worn, at least in the Republic, by the people of Rome to mark a military victory or defeat⁴⁶⁵ and was even sometimes worn by Roman senators in times of war.⁴⁶⁶ Otherwise it was probably not worn by citizens at Rome very much at all.⁴⁶⁷

Much has been made of the Gallic, or at least northern, origins of the *sagum*.⁴⁶⁸ It is mentioned by Strabo as being worn by the mountain folk of Spain⁴⁶⁹ and it is the word used by ancient authors to denote the simple rectangular cloak worn with the trousers by the Gauls and Germans.⁴⁷⁰ There indeed seems to have been a regular '*sagum* industry' in Gaul, going by the many inscriptions that mention *sagari* (*sagum* sellers) and *negotiatores sagarii*.⁴⁷¹ The Gauls appear to have been specialists in producing especially thick fabric. Unlike the Roman version, the northern *sagum* is often described as having been decorated with stripes or check.⁴⁷² Varro, at least, was convinced that the word *sagum* itself was Gallic in origin.⁴⁷³ It is, however, unclear whether the term was used by the Romans to denote a specific garment, or whether it simply came to be the general term used to denote a thick rectangular cloak. Like the *paenula*, it would make sense that such a warm garment originated in the colder north and was later imported to Italy. It is important to note, however, that a rectangular cloak is the most basic form of clothing, being the shape of fabric when it comes off the loom; in other words, in its basic form it could have evolved in several places simultaneously. In any case, it was common to all ancient peoples of Europe and the Mediterranean.

The *thorax/focale/sudarium* (A502)

A heavy scarf was sometimes worn by Romans in cold weather. Most commonly it is seen worn by soldiers tucked into the collar of their *paenula*, but it was sometimes worn with the *tunica* alone.⁴⁷⁴

The *petasus* (A703)

The *petasus* was a flattened-cone-shaped cap popular in

⁴⁵⁶ Wilson 1938, pl. XXIV, figs 31-32b; Goette 1990, 3; 20ff.; Croom 2002, 42; 43, fig. 10.1.

⁴⁵⁷ Wilson 1938, 43f.; pl. XXIX, fig. 37; Goette 1990, 3; 29ff.; Croom 2002, 42-44; 43 fig 10.3.

⁴⁵⁸ Wilson 1938, 46f.; pl. XXXV, fig. 41; pl. XXXVI, fig. 42; Goette 1990, 42ff.; Croom 2002, 45; 43 fig 10.4.

⁴⁵⁹ Wilson 1938, 47f.; pl. XXXVII, fig. 43; pl. XXXIX, fig. 45; Goette 1990, 54ff.; Croom 2002, 45f.; 43, fig. 10.5-6.

⁴⁶⁰ Cic., *Phil.* 5.14: Greeks as '*palliat*' and Romans as '*togati*'.

⁴⁶¹ Tert., *De pall.* 3.7; Wilson 1938, 80; Wild 1985, 385.

⁴⁶² E.g. Tac., *Germ.* 6.

⁴⁶³ Cic., *Phil.* 5.12: "putting on the *sagum*" = preparing for war.

⁴⁶⁴ Wild 1968b, 226.

⁴⁶⁵ Livy, *Epit.* 72; 73; 118.

⁴⁶⁶ Cic., *Phil.* 8.11.32.

⁴⁶⁷ Wilson 1938, 105f.; Croom 2002, 52.

⁴⁶⁸ E.g. Wilson 1938, 105f.; Wild 1968b, 226; Roche-Bernard 1993, 22f.; 161.

⁴⁶⁹ Strabo 3.3.7.

⁴⁷⁰ Polyb. 2.28.7, 2.30.1; Varro, *Ling.* 5.167; Caes., *B. Gall.* 5.42; Diod. Sic. 5.30.1; Verg., *Aen.* 8.660; Strabo 4.4.3, 4.6.3; Pompon. Mela 3.3.2; Tac., *Germ.* 6; 17.

⁴⁷¹ *CIL* IV, 753; VI, 1282, 1868, 9864, 9872; IX, 1863, 1872; XII, 1928, 1930, 4509, 1898, 5925, 5928, 5929, 6773. See also Schlippschuh 1974, 49-51.

⁴⁷² E.g. Tac., *Hist.* 2.20; Diod. Sic. 5.30.1.

⁴⁷³ Varro, *Ling.* 5.167.

⁴⁷⁴ Wilson 1938, 91 & pl. XLVI, fig. 52a.

Italy. It was often worn by Mercury and was sometimes used as protection from the sun. Caps of similar shape made from hair moss have been found at Vindolanda and Newstead and may have been worn by Roman soldiers.⁴⁷⁵

Native clothing:

The Gallic tunic (M) (A101)

The origins of this garment and the ensemble of which it formed part have already been discussed above. Its ancient name is unknown, but Wild has suggested that it may have a connection to the late Roman *dalmatica*. Although it is called a Gallic coat by Wild, in this study it will go under the name Gallic tunic to avoid any confusion that may be caused by the modern understanding of the word 'coat'.⁴⁷⁶

In its basic form, the Gallic tunic was a T-shaped garment with long sleeves and was usually worn ungirt.⁴⁷⁷ Men wore it to upper or mid-calf length. The bottom hem sometimes had a fringe⁴⁷⁸ and may have been curved,⁴⁷⁹ perhaps to prevent sagging below the sleeves, although no surviving examples of this have been found. It sometimes had a hood. The side seam sometimes had a split reinforced by a thick stitch. Langlois believed the side seam was never sewn entirely, but tacked together at intervals. The neck hole was a horizontal slit and may sometimes have had a hood.⁴⁸⁰

Two garments have survived which may bear a connection with, or in fact be, the Gallic tunic: the first was found at Les Martres-de-Veyre and has been dated to the 2nd or 3rd cent. AD. Although it was worn by a woman, the male and female Gallic tunics appear to be practically identical apart from their length (the female tunic was longer – see below). The Les Martres-de-Veyre item consists of one rectangular piece of wool with seamed shoulders and sides and sleeves which were sewn on. Unusually, it was girt. The width with sleeves was 170cm, the width of the body section 90cm and the length 125cm.⁴⁸¹ A similar item from Reepsholt in northern Germany (1st/2nd cent. AD) was already woven into its final shape on the loom⁴⁸² beginning at one of the sleeves, meaning that only sewing was required to complete the garment. The width with sleeves was 182cm, the width of the body section 115cm, and the length

97cm.⁴⁸³

Although Wild has spoken of the chronological distribution of the Gallic tunic as beginning in the early 1st cent. and ending in around 300, this corresponds with the dating of the relief depictions that form the basis of our understanding of the tunic, and as such becomes a circular argument.⁴⁸⁴ Consequently, this chronology has very limited real value. As mentioned above, the Gallic tunic is likely to have been worn before Roman conquest, and the introduction of stone relief art, and may have continued beyond it, perhaps as the *dalmatica*.

It did not, however, stay identical in form over the period under scrutiny. In the late 2nd and 3rd centuries a number of stones, especially in the Treveran area, show the tunic with narrower sleeves and a more fitted form for both men and women. Both Böhme and Wild have regarded this style as a separate garment,⁴⁸⁵ but in reality there is a large 'grey area' in different widths of the sleeves so that it is often difficult to draw a line. Because of this, and its obvious connection to the original Gallic tunic, it is regarded in this study as a trend in one and the same garment. Similarly, Böhme's separation of the Gallic tunic from the one worn by Blussus, stating that the latter was shorter with wider sleeves, must be rejected. In reality, Blussus' tunic is barely visible under his cape. The portion that can be seen shows it to be identical to the Gallic tunic and it will be considered as such in this study.⁴⁸⁶

The Gallic undergarment (M) (A102)

A form of undergarment is sometimes visible at the neck of the Gallic tunic, showing it had a tighter neckline.⁴⁸⁷ Very little else can be said of the garment, however, as it was otherwise covered by the tunic.

The Gallic cape (A201)

The origins of the Gallic cape and its distinction from the Roman *paenula* have already been discussed above. Essentially, it was a closed, knee-length, roughly cone-shaped garment with a V-neckline and, usually, a hood that lay flat on the wearer's back when not in use.⁴⁸⁸ It was only worn by men and accompanied the Gallic tunic. Often a side or the front was rolled up to reveal the arms.⁴⁸⁹ It may have some relation to the *byrrus* and the

⁴⁷⁵ Wild 1994; Böhme-Schönberger 1997, 24; fig. 11. Also apparently worn by Augustus (Suet., *Aug.* 82).

⁴⁷⁶ Wild 1985, 369ff.; 1968b, 168ff.

⁴⁷⁷ It is only ever worn girt when the wearer is at work (see note 392 above). Wild 1968b, 174 and 1985, 371 refers to the sleeves as optional, but all depictions in our region show the tunic with long sleeves.

⁴⁷⁸ E.g. T33, T35-36.

⁴⁷⁹ E.g. T30.

⁴⁸⁰ Langlois 1959-62, 200 and fig. page 196, Wild 1968b, 170. See T56, T116, T128, T145.

⁴⁸¹ Audollent 1922, 44ff., pl. IX; Fournier 1956; Wild 1968b, 17f.; 1985, 371.

⁴⁸² Possibly an eastern method (Wild 1968b, 170).

⁴⁸³ The sleeves are very long on these two items. Hald has suggested the sleeves may have been worn in many folds (Hald 1950, 345f.). Wild has expressed scepticism as this style of wearing the coat is not known on depictions (Wild 1968b, 170), although there is literary evidence of long sleeves being used as gloves in cold weather (Plin., *Ep.* 3.5.15; Wild 1985, 371 note 18).

⁴⁸⁴ Wild 1968b, 170ff.

⁴⁸⁵ Böhme 1985, 434; Wild 1985, 399-401.

⁴⁸⁶ Böhme 1985, 429f. and M12. Wild does not make this distinction either.

⁴⁸⁷ Cf. Böhme 1985, 434.

⁴⁸⁸ Wild sees the basic pattern as a semicircle (Wild 1985, 374f.). Böhme, on the other hand, sees it as a three-quarter or full circle (Böhme 1985, 430; 435).

⁴⁸⁹ Freigang goes into some detail about the different ways the Gallic cape was rolled up on the stones to support her argument that the garment mimicked the drapery of the toga (Freigang 1997a, 300). In reality the lifting of the cape to reveal one or both arms appears to have had more to do with the use of those arms for holding attributes or making

caracallus, both of which became popular in Italy and the Mediterranean from the 2nd cent. onward.⁴⁹⁰ As yet, no surviving examples have been found, but it appears in abundance on our stones and others from Gaul. Wild believes it was mainly a winter garment and explains its prevalence on relief art as

probably due to the fact that the sculptors, in their anxiety to convey information about the life of the deceased and his family, show as much of his wardrobe as they can. Alternatively, it may be that the deceased were thought of as making a long journey into the underworld, and were dressed in travelling costume.⁴⁹¹

Another possible reason is that it held symbolic cultural value, like the toga or other ‘national costumes’, and was therefore an essential element of the portrait with regard to expressing the cultural identity of the wearer. This aspect will be explored further below when the dress behaviour is discussed in chapter 5.⁴⁹²

The shoulder cape (A202)

In form, the shoulder cape was essentially a short version of the Gallic cape. It reached to just above the elbows. On the stones we have, it was only worn by hunters and riders and is therefore interpreted as a garment for outdoor protection.⁴⁹³ It may sometimes have been made out of wool, but it is likely to often have been made out of leather in order to be water-repellent.⁴⁹⁴ A similar garment was found in Krogens Mølle Moss in Denmark that consisted of different pieces of leather stitched together,⁴⁹⁵ and it may be related in some way to the distinctive shoulder cape of Nehalennia’s ensemble in the Rhine delta.⁴⁹⁶ It may also correspond to the *cucullus* which appears in Italy from the 2nd cent. onward and is generally considered to be Gallic in origin.⁴⁹⁷

The Treveran hooded cape (A203)

The Treveran hooded cape is identified by Böhme (“Das Kapuzenmäntelchen der Treverer”⁴⁹⁸) as a separate garment, unlike Wild, who sees it as the same garment as the shoulder cape. It has been treated in this study as a separate garment due to its clear distinguishing characteristics: it was longer (waist-length) and featured an evi-

dent front seam.⁴⁹⁹

The Gallic scarf (A501)

According to Wild, “[t]he scarf is a *sine qua non* of the basic [Gallic] male ensemble.”⁵⁰⁰ It was often worn with the ends tucked into the neck of the cape, but several depictions from Gaul show that the scarf was fringed at the ends.⁵⁰¹ Two woollen items from Iron Age burials in Denmark have fringes on the ends and measure 1.37m long.⁵⁰² The Gallic scarf may have been identical in form to its Roman counterpart (A502).

The Gallic cap (A701)

Several stones⁵⁰³ show men wearing a soft, round cap, similar to that of the women (B701). Most of these depictions, however, only survive as drawings by Wiltheim and may be misinterpretations of the original reliefs on the part of the artist, but as Wiltheim’s sketches otherwise depict known garments accurately, they are believed here. Moreover, an extant stone from Neumagen (T134) also depicts the cap.

The trousers (A401)

As mentioned above in the separate section on the trousers, they that formed part of the clothing ensemble of northern Europe and came in various forms: long with fitted feet, like those that were found in Thorsberg and those worn by the dead Gaul of the figurine from Alesia (see above), long without feet, like those on T188, or knee-length like those worn by some Rhenish cavalymen (when they weren’t wearing the first type – see above), by some soldiers on Trajan’s Column,⁵⁰⁴ and by a number of native Gallic deities in votive art.⁵⁰⁵

Occupational clothing:

The *exomis* (ἐξωμῖς) (A104)

The *exomis* was a Greek garment similar to the *chiton* but much shorter and only fastened over the left shoulder, leaving the right shoulder and part of the chest uncovered.⁵⁰⁶ It was girt around the waist and generally fell to mid-thigh length. In Greece, the Amazons and Artemis were often depicted wearing it, in Roman art it is worn by Vulcan, and in mortal life it was most readily associated with slaves and hard labourers.⁵⁰⁷

The apron (M) (A601)

A form of full-length front apron (similar in shape to its

gestures. These, of course, would be hidden beneath the Gallic cape were it not lifted.

⁴⁹⁰ See Wild 1963; 1964; 1985, 375.

⁴⁹¹ Wild 1968b, 177.

⁴⁹² This typology of the Gallic cape is slightly at variance with Böhme’s distinction between a “*paenulaartige Umhang*” and the “*ponchoartige Umhang der Form des Blussussteines*” (Böhme 1985, 430; 435). The former is described as partially open and bearing a seam down the front. This, in my view, would make it the Roman *paenula*, and not merely ‘*paenulaartig*’. The latter is described as being fully closed at the front and, as such, corresponds to my Gallic cape.

⁴⁹³ Wild 1985, 379f. This corresponds to Böhme’s “kurzer Kapuzenponcho” (Böhme 1985, 435).

⁴⁹⁴ Mart., *Epigr.* 14.130: *ingrediare viam caelo licet usque sereno, ad subitas numquam scortea desit aquas.*

⁴⁹⁵ Hald 1950, 328, fig. 380; Munksgaard 1974, 127, fig. 91.

⁴⁹⁶ See previous section and fig. 3.

⁴⁹⁷ Wilson 1938, 92-94. See also Roche-Bernard 1993, 28ff.

⁴⁹⁸ Böhme 1985, 435f.

⁴⁹⁹ E.g. the bronze miniature from Trier (the so-called ‘Treverermännchen’): Böhme 1985, pl. IV, 10; Wild 1985, pl. V, 15.

⁵⁰⁰ Wild 1985, 376.

⁵⁰¹ E.g. a gravestone from Nièvre (near Nevers, France): Wild 1985, 376, fig. 16.

⁵⁰² Hald 1950, 22, fig. 14; 45, fig. 31; Munksgaard 1974, 141, fig. 100.

⁵⁰³ T38, T117, T127, T134.

⁵⁰⁴ E.g. Lepper/Frere 1988, pl. XI scene X.

⁵⁰⁵ E.g. Succellus in several depictions such as the relief from Kinsheim (Germ.) and the ‘bird god’ relief from Corgoloin (Fr.): Gilles 1999; Roche-Bernard 1993, 19.

⁵⁰⁶ Although sometimes the other way around, see Roche-Bernard 1993, 31.

⁵⁰⁷ Roche-Bernard 1993, 31f. See also Zimmer 1982, 66f.

modern counterpart) is worn by men in some Gallic work scenes to protect their clothes.⁵⁰⁸

The drawers (A403)

This most minimal form of body covering, the nappy-like drawers, is associated with very hard labour and was worn by quarrymen carved into a stone face at Krufft near Mayen⁵⁰⁹ and, in a similar form, by Roman gladiators.⁵¹⁰

The *pilleus* (A702)

The *pilleus* was a round, roughly conical cap used by workers, artisans and sailors. It had the additional function as a symbol of freedom, and was worn by *liberti* at the ceremony of their emancipation and by civilians during the Saturnalia. It is also worn by soldiers on late Roman diptychs.⁵¹¹

Leg wrappings (A402)

Various types of leg wrappings were worn throughout the Roman world for warmth and protection, and especially for outdoor pursuits. Ancient sources mention the *feminalia*, which covered the thighs, and the *tibialia*, which covered the shins.⁵¹² One form consisted essentially of wide bandages wrapped around the legs. Another was made of a rectangle of cloth tied by laces at the knee and ankle, closely resembling modern gaiters.⁵¹³ They are to be distinguished from the trousers as described above, although the terminology is confusing, as the term *braecae* sometimes appears as a synonym for *feminalia*.⁵¹⁴

b) Women's clothing

Roman clothing:

The *tunica* (B106)

The Roman women's *tunica* was similar in form to that of the men (A103). It could be sewn at the shoulders or fastened at intervals using what appear to be buttons or round toggles leaving gaps in between,⁵¹⁵ although this latter form does not appear in our area at all. Like the male counterpart, the overhang of the fabric at the shoulders formed short sleeves, although it does also sometimes appear with added short sleeves. It was girt using a cord below the bust (not around the waist). It differed from the men's *tunica* in this higher girding and in the fact that it reached to the feet. It also appears to have been slightly fuller. When worn beneath a *stola*, it may have been only knee-length. There were some special versions of the garment: brides, for example, wore a hand-woven, white, woollen tunic with a white girdle

(*tunica recta*). But like its male counterpart, the *tunica* changed very little in form over the centuries of this study.⁵¹⁶

The *stola* (B107)

The *stola* has been the subject of much debate amongst dress historians. It is clear from written sources that it was a body garment worn by respectable married women to symbolise their status.⁵¹⁷ Matching the term to a specific garment on pictorial depictions has, however, proven difficult. At the core of the problem is the meaning of the word *instita*, which is mentioned by the ancients as its distinguishing feature.⁵¹⁸ Wilson saw the *stola* as a special type of tunic which was particularly long and which replaced the conventional *tunica*. She interpreted the *instita* as a band along the bottom of the dress.⁵¹⁹ This interpretation persists in some places today.⁵²⁰ However, Bieber showed that the *stola* was actually a garment sometimes seen on depictions that was worn over the *tunica* and consisted of two large rectangles of cloth joined once over each shoulder using cord (for Bieber, this cord is the *instita*).⁵²¹ It thus resembled a modern pinafore and showed the *tunica* clearly at the chest and shoulders. It was foot length and, like the *tunica*, girt below the bust.⁵²²

The *palla* (B203)

Women in Rome were expected, if they were respectable, to wear the *palla* at all times when outside, ideally over the head, although it has been suggested that this was gradually going out of fashion in Rome by the mid 1st cent. (see below).⁵²³ The *palla* was simply a large rectangular cloak, usually made of wool although it sometimes may have been made of lighter material for warmer weather. It is identical to the Greek *himation* (for clarity's sake this female version of the *himation* goes by the name *palla*, and the male version by the name *pallium*, in this study). More importantly, it is indistinguishable from the Gallic women's rectangular cloak in sculptural art, although the two garments may in reality have been different in colour, thickness, weave or type of fabric. There were, however, methods of draping that were common at Rome, and others which only appear in the north-west. The former are generally asymmetrical, the latter virtually symmetrical, and act as the only useful signifier of which garment is being worn. In this study, therefore, rectangular cloaks draped in a Roman way are classified as *pallae*, those draped in a native way as rectangular cloaks.⁵²⁴ The main modes of draping the *palla* are listed

⁵⁰⁸ T128. For examples such as a miller from Senon and a barber's customer from Alsace, see Wild 1985, 381f.

⁵⁰⁹ Roche-Bernard wrongly sees this as an *exomis*: Roche-Bernard 1993, 32.

⁵¹⁰ See Wild 1985, 382 for examples and further literature.

⁵¹¹ Böhme-Schönberger 1997, 24.

⁵¹² SHA, *Alex. Sev.* 60; Suet., *Aug.* 82. See also the right hand figure on a medallion on the Arch of Constantine: Wilson 1938, pl. LXIII, fig. 70.

⁵¹³ Wild 1985, 380.

⁵¹⁴ Wilson 1938, 74f.

⁵¹⁵ Wilson 1938, 161; See, e.g., the statue of Livia in the National Museum in Naples: Wilson 1938, pl. XCII, fig. 100.

⁵¹⁶ Wilson 1938, 138f.; 152; pl. LXXXIII, fig. 91; Böhme-Schönberger 1997, 28.

⁵¹⁷ E.g. Cic., *Phil.* 2.18.

⁵¹⁸ E.g. Hor., *Sat.* 1.2.29; 1.2.63, Ov., *Ars Am.* 1.31.32; *Tr.* 2.248.

⁵¹⁹ See Wilson 1938, 161; pl. XCI, fig. 99.

⁵²⁰ Especially in popular studies and among clothing reconstruction enthusiasts.

⁵²¹ Clearly visible on Hope's drawings of Roman statues, Hope 1962, pl. 243-244, 258-261.

⁵²² Bieber 1931; 1977, 23. See also N. Goldman 1994, 224-228; Sebesta 1994; Croom 2002, 75-78; colour pl. 11.

⁵²³ Varro, *Ling.* 5.131; Goethert 2002, 95.

⁵²⁴ See Wild 1985, 406 for a discussion of the problem of distinguishing Roman garments from native garments draped in a Roman way.

below:

1. Over the left shoulder, around the back, under the right arm and across the front at waist height supported by the left hand. This and mode 2 are the most common ways of draping the *palla*.
2. Similar to 1., but instead of supported by the left hand, the end is thrown up over the left shoulder, enveloping the whole left side of the body.
3. Similar to 1., but covering both shoulders.
4. Around the hips and supported by the forearms.
5. Around the arms and draped over the head. The left end is supported by the right arm. The literary sources refer to this as a sign of female respectability, but the higher proportion of female depictions without the head veiled suggests it was not common practice in the imperial period and may have been limited to marital and religious ceremonies.⁵²⁵
6. Around the hips and over the left shoulder.
7. Similar to 2., but covering both shoulders.

Native clothing:

The Gallic tunic (F) (B101)

The female Gallic tunic was identical in form and its variations to the male tunic (A101), apart from the fact that it was worn ankle-length.⁵²⁶ It had sleeves and was usually worn ungirt, except when worn by women at work such as slave girls.⁵²⁷ The hem was sometimes fringed⁵²⁸ and curved to avoid sagging below the arms.⁵²⁹ Like the men's tunic, it changed slightly in form in the late 2nd cent., acquiring a tighter fit and narrower, longer sleeves.⁵³⁰

The Gallic undergarment (F) (B102)

A long undergarment was often worn by women under their Gallic tunics. As it is only ever visible at the neckline and below the hem of the tunic, it is impossible to tell what its precise form was.⁵³¹

The Gallic bonnet (B701)

Various forms of bonnet appear to be an important part of indigenous dress in our region. The bonnet that often accompanied Menimane's ensemble and the Gallic tunic and rectangular cloak is a soft, plain bonnet similar to a beret which covered the entire scalp. The hair was usually tied into a bun underneath. On very few depictions, a long, thin instrument protrudes over the right ear as with the Ubian bonnet (see below). Traces of paint in a cross-

hatching pattern on the back of the head of a figure wearing Menimane's ensemble from Nickenich suggest her bonnet consisted of some type of net or coarsely woven material.⁵³²

The rectangular cloak (B202)

As mentioned above, the rectangular cloak,⁵³³ which was the overgarment of most indigenous female ensembles in our area, closely resembled the Roman *palla* and has been treated as a separate garment when draped in the following native ways.⁵³⁴

1. Draped around the shoulders and upper arms.
2. Similar to 1., but the ends thrown back over each shoulder.
3. Menimane pins it together on her right shoulder with a *fibula*.⁵³⁵ This is unusual: other stones depicting Menimane's ensemble show the cloak pinned over the *left* shoulder.⁵³⁶
4. Draped around the neck and shoulders like a large scarf.
5. Draped around the shoulders and then in a large hanging fold across the upper part of the body.
6. Draped loosely around the shoulders and upper arms and diagonally across the front revealing part of the bodice around the neck. At the front in the middle, a corner hangs down to thigh height with a tassel on the end (typical of the Treveran area).
7. Draped around the shoulders and arms and folded in a V, dressing-gown style, across the chest.
8. Draped around the right shoulder and diagonally across the chest, supported by the left forearm (typical of the Treveran area).

Menimane's bodice (B103)

The origins of Menimane's ensemble have been discussed above.⁵³⁷ The bodice was very close-fitting with long, tight sleeves that ended in cuffs. Its length is uncertain as it was covered by the overtunic. A split down the front of the neckline that enabled it to be removed over the head was held together by *fibulae*.⁵³⁸

Menimane's overtunic with *fibulae* (B104)

Menimane's overtunic consists of a wide cylinder of cloth held over both shoulders by *fibulae*.⁵³⁹ Often, as in Menimane's case, it was fastened to the bodice at the chest using a third brooch, which produced two scoops of fabric between the shoulders. Menimane's tunic has slipped off her left shoulder but this would appear to be

⁵²⁵ Olson 2008, 33-36.

⁵²⁶ This garment corresponds to Wild's Gallic coat (Wild 1968b, 195-197; 1985, 388-390) and Böhme's Belgican "Tunika" (Böhme 1985, 431f.).

⁵²⁷ Although it is difficult to see under the cloak with which it was habitually worn. Wild has pointed out that plain woollen belts have been found in Mainz and Vindolanda (Wild 1970a, 105ff., Table B, 8-17; 1977, 6 nos 5-9; 1985, 405) although it is not certain these were worn with the Gallic tunic.

⁵²⁸ E.g. T24, T39, T81, T85.

⁵²⁹ See the discussion above for the men's tunic.

⁵³⁰ Like the men's tunic above (A101) identified by both Wild and Böhme as a separate garment: Wild 1985, 399-401; Böhme 1985, 432.

⁵³¹ Wild 1985, 392.

⁵³² M22; Wild 1985, 394.

⁵³³ This garment corresponds to Wild's "cloak" (Wild 1985, 391) and Böhme's Belgican "Überwurf" (Böhme 1985, 432). Freigang has found the term *ricinium* for this garment (Freigang 1997a, 302). For reasons mentioned above (see section 'The 'Gallic ensemble' and Menimane's ensemble'), I have avoided Latin terminology for native garments.

⁵³⁴ 'Native ways' refers here to styles of draping that do not appear on depictions in Italy. Wild and Böhme do not make this distinction.

⁵³⁵ M12.

⁵³⁶ E.g. M4; Böhme 1985, 428.

⁵³⁷ See section 'The 'Gallic ensemble' and Menimane's ensemble'.

⁵³⁸ Wild 1985, 393. Böhme calls it a "langärmeliges Unterkleid" in 1985, 426 and a blouse ("Bluse") in Böhme-Schönberger 1997, 31.

⁵³⁹ In its cylindrical form similar to a Greek *peplos*. See Böhme 1985, 427; Böhme-Schönberger 1997, 31.

an anomaly (!). It is unclear whether the garment was ever generally worn with a belt. The position of the *fibulae* appears to be the significant feature of the overtunic and means it can be identified in funerary contexts: sets of paired brooches on each shoulder (head down) and a different one at the breast (set horizontally) have been found widely in central Europe,⁵⁴⁰ but the specific combination for Menimane's ensemble shows a distribution in grave finds that is concentrated around the middle Rhine and Moselle regions,⁵⁴¹ and Böhme-Schönberger has argued for a characterisation of the collared brooches worn by Menimane as a Treveran form.⁵⁴² The combination of undertunic and tube-like overtunic fastened at the shoulders is characteristic of women's dress in central, western and northern Europe from the Iron Age to the Migration Period, and may have a common ancestor to the Greek *peplos* and the Roman *stola*.⁵⁴³

The scarf of Menimane's ensemble (B501)

In some cases a scarf is tucked into the neck of the bodice of Menimane's ensemble.⁵⁴⁴

The disc pendant (B801)

The large, characteristically decorated disc pendant often worn with Menimane's ensemble and the Ubian women's ensemble appears to have held special significance for women in this area and forms an important part of pre-Roman native dress.⁵⁴⁵ It even appears in depictions of women who are otherwise dressed in Roman clothing. As a result, it is treated as a garment in this study. One actual example has been found in a hoard in Bonn along with collared brooches and a bangle.⁵⁴⁶ It is approximately 10cm in diameter, made out of silver and is suspended from a thick, ornate silver chain that ends in two smaller discs where it is fastened to the pendant. The depiction of the disc on portraits such as that of Menimane shows a simplified version of the pattern on the surface of the disc which consisted of a ring of small round knobs around a central knob. The rest of the surface was decorated with rings and bands of thin silver wire and green enamel cloisonné. It is unclear why Menimane's ensemble was sometimes worn *without* the pendant. Böhme has suggested that it was exclusive to the Rhine area and was never worn in, for example, the

Treveran area.⁵⁴⁷ A similar pendant is, however, worn by native Celtic women on portraits from Pannonia, Noricum and Illyricum.⁵⁴⁸ On portraits showing the Ubian ensemble the same pendant is worn, although it is more often depicted as a stylised round hoop and often worn with a torque closer around the neck.⁵⁴⁹

The Ubian tunic (B105)

The form of the Ubian tunic is difficult to determine as it was worn beneath the Ubian cloak which generally covered most of the body. It was ankle-length and the bottom hem often gives the appearance of being folded under. A second hem of fabric always protrudes from underneath and reaches to the feet (see fig. 5). It is unclear whether this is a separate garment or the end of the cloth that has been tucked up. What would seem to speak against the latter is the fact that on some depictions, the density of the folds on the undergarment suggest that it involved more fabric than the upper garment. It seems likely that it actually consists of an undertunic and an overtunic like most native dress ensembles in northern Europe (see under 'Menimane's overtunic' above). But because the Ubian version is virtually invisible in the evidence it is treated as one garment in this study.⁵⁵⁰

The Ubian cloak (B201)

The Ubian cloak consisted of a large semicircle of heavy woollen fabric that was always worn in the same distinctive manner: the straight edge was draped around shoulders, while the curved edge hung like a curtain around the back and sides of the body. The two straight edges were brought together just above the waist and fastened by a large bow brooch to produce a star-shaped bunch (see fig. 5).⁵⁵¹ In some grave portraits in which the woman sits side-on, the clasp is concealed, but the similarity of the style and the drapery of the clothing to the depiction of the Matron deities (figs 4 and 5) shows that Ubian dress is depicted here.

The Ubian bonnet (B702)

The most distinctive feature of the Ubian women's ensemble is the large, bulbous bonnet that enveloped the entire scalp and ears. It varied in size, the largest appearing on depictions of Matron deities (see fig. 5). Stone sculpture, however, reveals very little about what the bonnet consisted of and how it could retain its spherical shape. A bronze head found on the Rhine, dating perhaps to the late 2nd cent., is informative as it appears to show a

⁵⁴⁰ Wild 1985, 394. Danubian provinces: Garbsch 1965, 25ff.; Scandinavia and northern Germany: Gebühr 1976; Munksgaard 1974.

⁵⁴¹ See distribution maps in Wild 1968b, 206, fig. 25 and Wild 1985, 398, fig. 40.

⁵⁴² Böhme-Schönberger 1994. For the seminal discussion of the jewellery elements of Menimane's ensemble see Behrens 1927. Some paired *fibulae* appear to have been joined together by a chain that Wild has shown to be a decorative accessory that may have links to Denmark and the Danube provinces: Wild 1985, 396f. See also Wild 1965; 1968b, 207f.

⁵⁴³ Cf., e.g., similar undertunic and overtunic ensembles on Norican portraits (Garbsch 1965, 138 Nr. 30, pl. 1), in Viking women's dress (e.g. Hägg 1984, esp. 168f.) and in early Anglo-Saxon dress (Owen-Crocker 2004, 42-56). A 4th-cent. Greek vase shows a peplos fastened on the shoulders with pins or *fibulae* (Čremošnik 1964, fig. 8). In a slightly different form the combination even extends to Roman-period Syria and Palestine (Roussin 1994; B. Goldman 1994).

⁵⁴⁴ Wild 1985, 394.

⁵⁴⁵ Although some women who wear Menimane's ensemble wear a torque instead, as on M20.

⁵⁴⁶ Lehner 1924, pl. 29; Böhme 1985, 429 & pl. II, 4-5.

⁵⁴⁷ Böhme 1985, 444.

⁵⁴⁸ See Láng 1919, figs 95-96, 99, 102-104, 108, 110; Čremošnik 1964, especially figs 2, 3, 9.

⁵⁴⁹ E.g. U44. This disc pendant may be what Tacitus is referring to as *phalerae* in his list of common gifts between neighbouring Germanic tribes: *gaudent praecipue finitimarum gentium donis, quae non modo a singulis, sed et publice mittuntur, electi equi, magnifica arma, phalerae torquesque* (Tac., *Germ.* 15). The *phalerae* used as connecting plates in the tack worn by horses of the Roman cavalry are sometimes curiously similar in design to the disc pendants worn by women in the north-west. See, e.g., the silver *phalera* from Manerbio sul Mella, Italy, dated to the 1st cent. BC and now in the Museo Civico in Brescia with its ring of round, knob-like bearded male heads (Megaw/Megaw 1995, 367 fig. 20.14). See also Moscatti et al. 1991, 468.

⁵⁵⁰ Wild 1968a, pl. 16.2; 1985, 402.

⁵⁵¹ Wild 1985, 402.

small version of the Ubian bonnet with various details: two cords, one inner and one outer, hold the bonnet, tightening it like a drawstring. On this example, the two lines of cords are joined by cross-strings.⁵⁵² A metal instrument which protrudes from under the bonnet over the right ear on this and other depictions (e.g. fig. 5) has been a point of some speculation. Wild originally thought it was a metal tube, but conceded in 1985 that Gebühr's idea, that it was a metal hair pin common to northern German women of the Roman Iron Age, was more likely.⁵⁵³

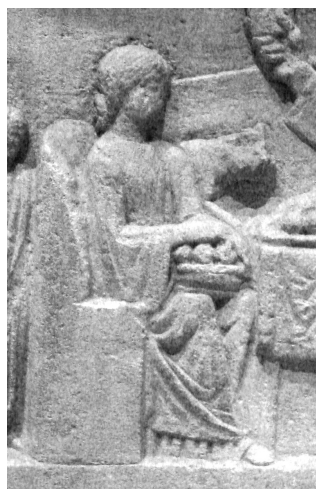


Fig. 4. Detail of U9



Fig. 5. Detail of a votive altar for the Matronae Aufaniae from Bonn

and reliefs in Rome wear a *tunica* that is folded at the top, creating a flap of fabric over the top half of the body.⁵⁵⁷ None of these, however, except perhaps the *bullae*, appear on stones in our region.⁵⁵⁸

Occupational clothing:

The apron (F) (B601)

On a stone from Neumagen (T153), a woman seated at a table wears an apron on her lap.

c) Children's clothing

In the north-western provinces as in Rome, children, so long as they had outgrown their swaddling clothes, wore essentially the same clothing as adults, albeit in a smaller size.⁵⁵⁴ There are, however, a small number of items that were worn specifically by children: The *toga praetexta* was worn by the children of upper-class Roman citizens, especially sons, before they acquired their *toga virilis*.⁵⁵⁵ The *bullae*, an amulet or locket, made of gold for those who could afford it and otherwise probably of leather, was worn around the neck by boys (and perhaps sometimes girls) until they were 16.⁵⁵⁶ Some girls on statues

⁵⁵² Wild 1985, 401f.; 1968a, 69, pl. 17, 1a, 1b; 1968b, 211.

⁵⁵³ Wild 1968a; Gebühr 1976, 51ff.; Wild 1985, 402.

⁵⁵⁴ Wild 1985, 407; Wilson 1938, 130f.

⁵⁵⁵ See most recently Sebesta 2005. Examples of the *toga praetexta* include some of the children in the procession on the *Ara Pacis*: Wilson 1938, pl. LXXVII, fig. 85.

⁵⁵⁶ Wilson 1938, 131f. and relief on the *Ara Pacis* mentioned in previous note.

⁵⁵⁷ While, as Wilson has pointed out, this may derive from Hellenistic fashion (save for the girding it looks almost exactly like a Greek or Doric *peplos*), it may also have served a practical purpose: due to the extra fold of fabric, one needed to only undo the *fibulae* at the shoulders and pull the fold higher to lengthen the tunic as the girl grew. See Wilson 1938, 134f.; pl. LXXIX, fig. 87; pl. LXXXI, fig. 89; pl. LXXXII, fig. 90a & b.

⁵⁵⁸ See M12 and discussion in the section 'Dress and generation' in chapter 5 below.

5. DRESS BEHAVIOUR ON THE GRAVE MONUMENTS

Introduction

The following chapter presents the analysis of dress behaviour on funerary portraits and scenes from the Rhine-Moselle region as collated and described in the catalogue. Dress behaviour is analysed from a number of different angles. The first sections survey the stones in the catalogue from a geographical perspective and discuss the patterns in dress behaviour in each of the three areas in turn, whereby a broadly similar structure is retained for all three sections to aid comparison: chronological patterns, regional differences within the areas and the respective patterns in the use of the main garment types in the region. The next three sections after that look at dress from the perspective of individual societal groups. 'Dress and occupation' considers dress choice according to occupational group and compares the clothing worn on portraits to that worn by people in their everyday working lives as depicted in scenes on some of the larger monuments. The next two sections, 'Dress and gender' and 'Dress and generation', investigate the two major factors that played a role in differences of dress choice between members of the same family and in doing so take a closer look at individual people. The penultimate section takes a closer look at the bonnet as a feature of women's dress in this region, and the final section looks at the very common practice of mixing garments of different origin in the same outfit.

Treveran Area

a) Chronological patterns

Tables 5 and 6 in Appendix II show the chronological distribution of Roman, native and mixed dress ensembles on individual portrait depictions in the Treveran area. The trend is similar for both male and female portraits: Roman dress predominates in the beginning, but native dress becomes more prevalent and is the predominant dress choice for men from the second half of the 2nd cent. onwards. It is interesting that Roman dress predominates among women for half a century longer than among men. Roman dress decreases in the 3rd cent., but does not disappear. In real terms, the frequency of Roman dress remains relatively constant, although declining gradually, until the mid 3rd cent., but in relative terms, it becomes an ever-decreasing *proportion* of dress worn on portraits as native dress begins to predominate.

This pattern is curious, bearing in mind the fact that, as time progressed, increasing numbers of Treverans will have acquired citizenship and grown familiar with Roman styles of dress. The phenomenon will be examined in more detail below, but at this stage, a few observations can be made.

Some of the people depicted in early portraits are likely to have been immigrants: Of those men and women in Roman dress in the 1st cent., we have an indication that one may have been a slave (T1), one a veteran (T2) and one may have held a position as a priest (T7). The stones in this category are mixed in size with three grave pillars⁵⁵⁹ and six *stelae* and other smaller monument types,⁵⁶⁰ so wealth does not correlate with choice of dress.

From the 2nd cent. onwards, the stones showing Roman dress are larger with only one *stela* (T46) and eight grave pillars.⁵⁶¹ However, the grave pillars do not only show Roman dress but native dress as well, and the fact that more stones from the 2nd cent. generally are of the larger pillar type seems to indicate that a new group of wealthy people now had the money or inclination to dedicate Roman-style stones. Some of these people wear Roman dress, others native dress. What is clear is that from the beginning of our chronology to the mid 3rd cent. there was a relatively constant, although gradually declining, group of people in the Treveran area that wore Roman dress on their portraits. The increase in native dress corresponds to an overall increase in the number of monuments, so that it the impression emerges that it is a new group of people appearing on our stones that wear native dress, more than a change in dress choice for the same group of people. The predominant native ensemble worn by these people is the Gallic ensemble.

b) Sub-regional geographical patterns

The figures for the Treveran area show a slight urban-rural gradient in dress behaviour. Table 11 shows the relative proportions in the area's two urban locations (Trier, Arlon) together in comparison to the (rural) rest of the area. Native dress predominates in both categories for both men and women, but both the highest and the lowest rates of Roman dress appear in the second table: the lowest for men and the highest for women. However, when compared to Trier separately (Table 12), Arlon displays a much higher rate of native dress to Trier or, for that matter, the rest of the area. A separation between Trier and the rest of the area in Table 13 shows the highest proportion of Roman dress/lowest proportion of native dress is to be found in Trier, whilst the trend is inverted for the rest of the area. In other words, urbanised Trier shows the highest rate of Roman dress and the lowest of native dress. The inverse of this is, however, recorded in Arlon, and not in the rural rest of the area, as one might expect.

⁵⁵⁹ T4, T7, T9.

⁵⁶⁰ T1-3, T5-6, T8.

⁵⁶¹ T11, T47-50, T56-58.

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⁵⁶⁰ T1-3, T5-6, T8.

⁵⁶¹ T11, T47-50, T56-58.

This distribution is perhaps unsurprising: one would expect to find the toga more often on gravestones from Trier, where commerce and regional administration were concentrated, and urban women and wives of *togati* are more likely to don Roman dress as well. The possible reasons for the high frequency of the toga in the *civitas* capital will be discussed in greater detail in the next section. The high frequency of native dress in Arlon is intriguing and shows that native dress was much more popular among commissioners of gravestones in this urban location, suggesting a different cultural outlook. The possible more subtle implications of 'rural dress' in Arlon will also be discussed using the example of the bonnet in a separate section below. The results also show that in the Treveran area, dress-mixing was largely a rural phenomenon. The high rate of native dress among rural men coupled with the popularity of Roman dress among rural women is noteworthy. In many cases from this category, men in native dress are depicted with their wives in Roman dress. This phenomenon will be looked at in more detail in the section 'Dress and gender' below.

c) The toga

The toga was the Roman garment par excellence, and could only legally be worn by those who possessed Roman citizenship. But as we shall see, some who were permitted to wear it chose not to, indicating that legal status was not the only factor involved in the choice of whether or not to wear it on one's funerary portrait. Its cultural significance as a symbol of *Romanitas* is widely attested in ancient literature from Cicero's shorthand for Romans as *togati* and Greeks as *palliat*,⁵⁶² to Virgil's description of the Romans as the *gens togata*⁵⁶³ and *Agri-cola* 21, where in Tacitus' list of the cultural traits taken on by the Britons in their alleged enthusiasm for Roman culture, the donning of the toga comes second only to the adoption of the Latin language.⁵⁶⁴ It is thus central to the questions at the core of this study to explore who was wearing the toga and, indeed, who was not, and what exactly it may have signified to the men in this region of the empire.

The first striking feature which should be addressed is the chronological distribution of the toga in the Treveran area, which follows a very similar pattern to that observed for Roman dress in general as discussed in section a). Of the 10 male portraits that date to the 1st cent., eight depict a man in a toga.⁵⁶⁵ The number of Roman-style gravestones rises sharply in the 2nd cent., but the number of men dressed in the toga does not rise with it, declining only gradually until the mid 3rd cent. In other words, the *relative* frequency of the toga declines rapidly, as the vast majority of stones from the 2nd cent. onward show men in Gallic dress.

As observed above for Roman dress generally, this distribution appears to belie the fact that, with time, a greater number of Treveri will have become Roman citizens and will also have come into more intensive contact with Roman culture. As Freigang and others have shown, many more of the people depicted on the stones will have possessed Roman citizenship than displayed this by the *tria nomina* or the toga.⁵⁶⁶ It is assumed that Trier was granted the *ius Latii* which would have paved the way for local functionaries to acquire full Roman citizenship, although these positions may have been confined to a limited number of powerful local families. Nonetheless, if the number of *cives Romani* was low before the enactment of the *constitutio Antoniniana*, one would expect to see a change in toga frequency after 212. In fact, Raepsaet-Charlier has shown that the Treveran territory, in comparison to other *civitates* in the north-west, possessed a very high number of citizens in the inscriptions, which increases dramatically over time.⁵⁶⁷ The disparity between the epigraphic evidence and the frequency of the toga on our stones shows that many Roman citizens must have chosen *not* to wear the toga in their portraits. Indeed, several stones on which men bear the *tria nomina* but wear the Gallic cape show this was not unusual.⁵⁶⁸

So who *did* wear the toga in the Treveran area? The stones give us some clues. Nomenclature is unhelpful as in most cases the inscription is missing, but of the three on which the name survives, two bear thoroughly Latin names, but ones that are common in Gaul (T46, T62) while another may be Celtic (T2). The wearing of Gallic dress by other members of the family and by themselves in scenes from everyday life shows that many of the *togati* were indigenous Treverans.⁵⁶⁹ Although it is possible that immigrants may have 'gone native' and adopted Gallic dress, throughout the Roman period, the vast majority of the Treveran population was indigenous. Aside from the initial conquest period there were far fewer soldiers stationed in the area than, for example, in the Rhine provinces.⁵⁷⁰ After the Roman legions left for the Rhine, the most important group of immigrants from the Mediterranean seem to have been merchants and traders, as Tacitus says in his depiction of Florus' uprising in AD 21, that the latter "tried to convince the Treveran cavalry to kill the Roman merchants and start the war".⁵⁷¹ If there had been large numbers of troops in the area, they surely

⁵⁶² Cic., *Phil.* 5.14.

⁵⁶³ Verg., *Aen.* 1.282.

⁵⁶⁴ For a full list of ancient sources that refer to the toga as a symbol of *Romanitas*, see Goette 1990, 2 note 1 and Stone 1994, note 1.

⁵⁶⁵ T2, T4-7, T9, T20-21.

⁵⁶⁶ Freigang 1997a, 305-307; 387-399; Wolff 1995, 337.

⁵⁶⁷ Raepsaet-Charlier 2001b, 465; 2001a, 349ff.: Slaves: 1%; Indeterminate: 8%; Peregrini: 19%; Citizens: 72%.

⁵⁶⁸ From the Ubian area: U20, U55. From Mediomatricorum, the neighbouring *civitas* to the south: Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Med 167, Med 173, Med 189, Med 192, Med 198. See Schlippschuh 1974, 162 for the decreasing significance of Roman citizenship among the provincial population during the course of the first two centuries AD.

⁵⁶⁹ T9, T47, T56, T62.

⁵⁷⁰ Koethe 1937, 202.

⁵⁷¹ Tac., *Ann.* 3.42: *ut caesis negotiatoribus Romanis bellum inciperet.*

would also have been a target.⁵⁷² These ‘Roman’ merchants may well, of course, have included southern Gauls or even Iberians. Nevertheless, this information is from a very early period. By the end of the 1st cent. most merchants were locals⁵⁷³ and there is no other evidence that immigrants in any significant numbers settled in the Treveran area.⁵⁷⁴ It must be assumed that most of our *togati* are native Treverans.⁵⁷⁵

The occupation of the toga-wearers is rarely mentioned or depicted; we have one merchant (T47), one landlord (T56), one family of merchant-landlords (T62) and perhaps a veteran (T2). T7 depicts a *togatus velatus*, which suggests he may have held office as a priest.⁵⁷⁶

A much more helpful criterion is the size of the stones. Of the 23 scenes depicting men in a toga, 17 are grave pillars, indicating that most *togati* were wealthy. Also, the wives of men in the toga on the Treveran stones, when depicted, all wear Roman dress, showing a high level of consistency between family members which is less pronounced elsewhere.⁵⁷⁷ The geographical distribution of the toga portraits is also interesting: of the 23 from the Treveran area, 16 are from Trier and Neumagen,⁵⁷⁸ while only three are from Treverorum’s second city, Arlon, and the remaining four from elsewhere. This shows a marked concentration in the *civitas* capital.

The picture that emerges is that of a wealthy group of people concentrated in Trier, whose choice of clothing places them in marked contrast to others around them. The chronology suggests that perhaps from the earliest interactions with Rome there existed a limited circle of people who, as a result of their political or cultural roles, allegiances or family traditions, had the inclination and wealth to be able to afford a stone monument, and who chose to wear Roman dress on these monuments. Over time, new circles of the Treveran population obtained Roman citizenship and were of the financial position and cultural mind-set to choose Roman-style grave monuments. This new group of individuals, however, was different in its cultural outlook and chose to wear and be portrayed in native dress. Nonetheless, the toga continues

to appear on the stones in a small but constant number, perhaps continuing to be worn by that segment of Treveran society that had always worn the toga in their portraits.⁵⁷⁹

The accumulation of *togati* in Trier hints at an identification of members of this group as holders of political office in the Treveran capital.⁵⁸⁰ However, government was not the only thing that was concentrated in Trier. It was also the most important trade settlement, and large-scale Treveran merchants are known to have travelled widely on business.⁵⁸¹ Trier’s location on a major river and at the crossing point of two major roads (Lyon-Rhine and Reims-Mainz), made it a natural centre for economic activity. Excavations have revealed docks on the Moselle where goods and produce will have been loaded onto ships and a district at the edge of the city where pottery and glass were produced. The main two economic products of the region were, however, wine and textiles, and it is these that are most often represented on gravestones.⁵⁸² The merchants in Trier may have been the same people who held the highest public positions in local government. Whether there was any form of prestige distinction, as can be found in Italy,⁵⁸³ between wealth based on land and wealth based on trade is unclear, but all indicators point to a less disapproving attitude of the local political elite to commerce.⁵⁸⁴ It was, in any case, possible to be both a merchant and a decurion: a wealthy Treveran merchant on an inscription in Lyon was a member of

⁵⁷² Cf. Heinen 1985, 58 who adds that the merchants may have been targeted in order to seize their money as the dissenters were resentful of the money they themselves had to pay.

⁵⁷³ See Schlippschuh 1974, 131; 146; 155; 182ff.

⁵⁷⁴ E.g. the onomastic evidence of the Treveran inscriptions as a whole summarised by Raepsaet-Charlier 2001a, 397. See also Heinen 1985, 176-177.

⁵⁷⁵ Freigang interprets all *togati* in the Treveran area as Romophile natives (Freigang 1997a, 308). See also Goethert 2002, 94f.: “Die Treverer der einstigen adligen Oberschicht präsentieren sich in der Öffentlichkeit und auf den Denkmälern als Römer. ... Auf Grund inschriftlicher Zeugnisse ... dürfen wir in den Figuren Einheimische erkennen. Sicherlich bewusst haben sie eine stadtrömische Repräsentationsform gewählt, die von Augustus propagiert wurde, um in der Wahl der Kleidung *dignitas* (Würde) und *pietas* (Frömmigkeit) zu dokumentieren. Auffallenderweise hat diese Darstellungsart offensichtlich in Nordgallien und im Rheinland keine weitere Verbreitung gefunden.”

⁵⁷⁶ Cf. similar portraits from northern Italy: Pflug 1989, 99.

⁵⁷⁷ T9, T20, T21, T46, T47, T56, T57. See also the section ‘Dress and gender’ below.

⁵⁷⁸ The stones from Neumagen are, as explained in chapter 3, generally believed to have come from Trier.

⁵⁷⁹ It is interesting to note that in her study of Yoruba dress in Lagos, Nigeria, Wass found that the members of the local elite population who had direct contact with the British in the early period were quick to adopt Western dress while subsequent generations of elites were more cautious due to a growing sense of cultural pride and resistance (Wass 1979, 334ff.).

⁵⁸⁰ This is Freigang’s interpretation. She does not consider the possibility of trade as a factor (Freigang 1997a, 309). Bertrang 1954, 38 assumed that the *togati* in Arlon were Roman functionaries.

⁵⁸¹ See Krier 1981, a publication dedicated entirely to the activities of Treveri abroad. Schlippschuh has also shown, pointing especially to the votive stones in the Rhine delta for safe passage of goods across the Channel, that merchants often accompanied their wares to their destination (Schlippschuh 1974, 107); and the epigraphic evidence for associations of merchants shows that large networks of traders existed over a large geographical area (Schlippschuh 1974, 109-123). In short, large-scale merchants are likely to have travelled often and sometimes large distances. See also Kneissl 1983 for the mobility of *negotiatores*.

⁵⁸² E.g. textiles: T33, T62, T246, T160, T172, M41; wine: T90, T102, T104, T116, T149-150, T166-67, T175, T184. Treveran *negotiatores vinarii* are mentioned on inscriptions from other parts of the empire, especially Lyon (e.g. *CIL* XIII 1911, 2033, 11179). Schlippschuh has shown that wine merchants were considered the most prestigious of the *negotiatores*. On an honorary inscription from Lyon, for example, they are listed, together with the equestrians and *seviri Augustales*, immediately after the *decuriones* and before all the other status groups (*CIL* XIII 1921). For wine merchants in the Treveran area, see Schlippschuh 1974, 30ff. For wine merchants in the northern provinces generally see Schlippschuh 1974, 26-36. For trade in the north-west see Wierschowski 1991. For the role of *negotiatores* generally see Kneissl 1983. It is clear that by this time in the Roman north-west, the term *negotiator* is used to denote merchants of specific goods, and not bankers, like in Republican Italy.

⁵⁸³ See, e.g., Cic., *Off.* 1.42, although he says that large-scale trade is not so disreputable if it is conducted with propriety.

⁵⁸⁴ For a more detailed discussion of this, see Heinen 1985, 167-170.

the *ordo decurionum*,⁵⁸⁵ and some of the larger pillar monuments in the region proudly depict scenes of both land ownership and trade (e.g. the Igel pillar T62).⁵⁸⁶ The grandeur of Trier's many public buildings, as well as its private *villae urbanae* and opulent necropoleis bear witness to the wealth that was accumulated by the leading Treveran families. Many of these owned both houses in the city, to conduct their political and commercial activities, and villa estates in the country, where they collected rents from tenant farmers.⁵⁸⁷ This may explain why the second highest concentration of Roman dress in the Treveran area is in rural locations, and not in the area's second urban centre, Arlon (see previous section).

The rarity of the toga and its restriction to portrait scenes on gravestones in the Treveran area is in itself interesting, and suggests that it was an uncommon sight in everyday life.⁵⁸⁸ Indeed, not only do almost all scenes from everyday life show men wearing Gallic dress, but this is also the case on some stones on which men appear in the portraits in the toga.⁵⁸⁹ The confinement of the toga to portraits further underlines the garment's symbolic character and demonstrates its use in portraits was a product of deliberate choice. But the discrepancy on the stones between the dress worn on portraits and in everyday life may reflect real life. It is conceivable that its basis lay in the fact that men wore the toga for some aspects of their public lives, but the Gallic ensemble at home and in their everyday business life.

Such a practice was widespread in India, both under Mogul and British rule. But while the Moguls forced all holders of public office to wear Mogul dress, the attitude of the British was more equivocal; some, such as the politician and colonial governor Thomas Babington Macaulay, felt that the Indian elite should be instructed in the ways of the West in order to create a "class who may be interpreters between us [the British] and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect".⁵⁹⁰ At the same time, the British often actively

discouraged the wearing of Western dress by Indians, as they wanted to retain their cultural distance.⁵⁹¹ The attitude of the Romans to provincials wearing Roman dress is not well documented, but it is likely to have been somewhere in between: we know of no instances where provincials were discouraged from wearing Roman dress. Indeed, one perceives a sense of pride when provincials are described by Roman authors as taking on the toga.⁵⁹² There is, however, also no evidence that people were forced to adopt Roman dress.

Indeed, it may have been self-evident to holders of public office that they were expected to wear the toga when performing public duties. Likewise, in the context of business dealings, especially in trade, one may have felt obliged to wear the toga when travelling and meeting businessmen from other parts of the empire. To understand this, one may turn to the use of the modern business suit. Mazrui observed in 1970:

Mankind is getting rapidly homogenised by the sheer acquisition of the Western shirt and trousers. The Japanese businessman, the Arab minister, the Indian lawyer, the African civil servant have all found a common denominator in the Western suit.⁵⁹³

The term 'common denominator' is important here. One may be hard pressed to find any official statement as to the dress expected of international businessmen when dealing with one other, but still the suit is generally worn because it represents common ground, and symbolises membership of an international business community. 'International' Treveran businessmen may have found a similar common denominator in the toga and may, like the modern businessman, have been perceived as backward or eccentric if they had appeared in meetings with other businessmen in their native clothes.

The example of the Western suit is also illuminating, because it has largely lost its association with a specific geographical-cultural region; in other words, it is no longer regarded as European ethnic dress. Rather, it is imbued with values and associations which may have originated in Europe but which have come to be perceived independently of geographical place or ethnic culture. Kees van Dijk has shown how, in Indonesia, Western dress in general possessed manifold and, in some cases, conflicting symbolic properties over time:

Depending on the epoch, 'dressing like a European' could reflect a variety of motives. It could be

⁵⁸⁵ *CIL* XIII 1911: C APRONIO | APRONI | BLANDI FIL | RAPTORI | TREVERO | DEC EIVSD CIVITATIS | N ARARICO PATRONO | EIVSDEM CORPORIS | NEGOTIATORES VINARI | LVGVND CONSISTENTES | BENE DE SE MERENTI | PATRONO | CIVIS STATVAE DEDICA | TIONE SPORTVLAS | DED NEGOT SING CORP XV. Cf. Wierschowski 1991, 127: *negotiatores* being formally barred from office as *decuriones*.

⁵⁸⁶ See Goethert 2002, 36 and Gabelmann 1987, 305 who suggests most magistrates belonged to a "bürgerliche" class of merchants and land-owners.

⁵⁸⁷ A number of the Treveran villas display a very high level of wealth that sets them apart from other sites. Most of these are located around Trier and include Fliessem near Bitburg, Echternach and Nennig, the latter of which dates to the Neronian era. Examples of known villa complexes or accumulations near where gravestones have been found are: Buzenol-Montauban near the road from Reims to Trier, Mamer, Virton, Remerschen-Mecheren, Eppeldorf, Igel, Wasserbillig, Bollandorf, Neumagen and Bartringen/Bertrange (for the latter, new discovered fragments see, e.g., Krier 2000).

⁵⁸⁸ This contrasts sharply with the very high frequency of the toga on funerary portraits in southern Gaul, as Freigang has pointed out (Freigang 1997a, 304).

⁵⁸⁹ E.g. T47, T56, T62, U11.

⁵⁹⁰ Thomas Babington Macaulay, "Minute of 2 February 1835 on Indian Education".

⁵⁹¹ Tarlo 1996, 24. The basis of this seems to lie in racism: as the Indians were considered *racially* inferior, Western dress was considered an incongruity on an Indian body, and could never make that person wholly civilised, as he could not change his race (Tarlo 1996, 34). This contrasts somewhat with the Roman attitude to barbarians, as here biological difference was not the main issue. For racism in the Roman Empire, however, see Sherwin-White 1967.

⁵⁹² See Tac., *Agr.* 21 and Suet., *Iul.* 80.

⁵⁹³ Mazrui 1970, 22.

a sign of accepting European culture as a term of reference, or of a desire to be part of a sophisticated fashionable world. Following a European style might indicate acceptance of or accommodation to Dutch rule. It could also be a signal that one did not consider oneself inferior to Europeans, or that one was part of a modern world of progress and therefore rejected the traditional mores of local society and of traditional Islam.⁵⁹⁴

In the end, members of the nationalist movement that strove to expel colonial rule from the Indies specifically *chose* to wear Western or Westernised dress because, by this time, it was associated with progress and modernity. Had Western dress still been associated with the hated colonial rulers, this surely would not have been possible. It had become so semiotically distanced from its Dutch or European ethnic origins that, by the early 20th cent., there was no perceived paradox in the would-be ousters of European rule sporting 'European' dress.⁵⁹⁵ What this reveals is that dress that originates in a particular geographical region can, over time, become associated with values and cultural attitudes independent of place. This is a warning to us not to assume that the men of the north-western, or any other, provinces of the Roman Empire were, in wearing a toga, necessarily consciously adopting the ethnic dress of the city of Rome. It is just as likely that they were adopting the toga or other Roman dress because it symbolised membership of a sophisticated 'international' elite. And although the toga is closely associated with Roman citizenship, this institution also gradually acquired a similar 'placeless' quality over the centuries of the Roman Empire.

Returning to the discrepancy between clothing on portraits and scenes from everyday life, the experience of Indian men under Mogul and British rule is again of interest, despite the differences in attitude mentioned above. For under both regimes, men involved in public office and large-scale business felt obliged to wear the dress of the imperial culture in certain contexts. Under Mogul rule, this was due to compulsion. Under late 19th-cent. British rule the process was more complex. On the one hand, as mentioned above, the British disliked Indians wearing Western clothes. On the other, they held a disparaging attitude to Indian dress and treated those Indians who wore Western dress with favour.⁵⁹⁶ An elite minority of Indian men who were educated in the British manner were impressed by the Western notion of progress and civilisation, and Western clothing was closely linked to this. At the same time, pride and cultural allegiance, not to mention practicality, often rendered complete abandonment of Indian dress out of the question.⁵⁹⁷ The result was a variety of solutions. Some men wore a combination of Western and Indian garments, a phenomenon also common on our stones which will be discussed in a separate section below. More importantly for

the current question, some wore Western dress when dealing with Westerners, and otherwise wore Indian clothes.⁵⁹⁸

It is also highly relevant to the matter of Roman vs. native dress that Western and Indian dress possessed such discrepant physical properties. While the largely draped and loose character of Indian dress was ideal for the hot climate, tailored and fitted Western dress was wholly unsuitable.⁵⁹⁹ Anyone familiar with the Indian climate will be able to imagine the relief with which Indian men often discarded Western suits at the end of a working day.⁶⁰⁰ One may assume a similar situation in northern Gaul, where the fitted tunics and enveloping capes of Gallic dress were more appropriate for the cold, wet weather. The toga, on the other hand, was not merely unsuitable for the climate, it was also notoriously uncomfortable.⁶⁰¹

The dichotomy between draped and tailored clothing and its associations is in itself also very interesting.⁶⁰² Tarlo has shown how British people, especially missionaries, regarded the draped and loose nature of much of Indian dress as indecent and primitive, while tailored clothes were associated with sophistication and progress. A similar, though reversed, attitude is revealed in Roman written sources toward the fitted dress of the northern barbarians, which stood in contrast to, and rendered impossible, the elegant and elaborate drapery of the Roman sartorial aesthetic.⁶⁰³ This disparaging sentiment is most evident in the Roman reaction to the trousers, presumably due to the fact that trousers were, as one author has put it, the tailored garment *par excellence*.⁶⁰⁴ One cannot help suspecting that Tacitus' description of German elite clothing as "not flowing like that of the Sarmatians and Parthians, but tight and showing each limb"⁶⁰⁵ was meant to capture the imagination of his Roman readership.

In summary, then, the limited, portrait-bound and Trier-centred appearance of the toga on stones from the Treveran area is no longer so mysterious: whether the wearers held public office or were large-scale merchants or both (the concentration in Trier implies this

⁵⁹⁴ Van Dijk 1997, 54.

⁵⁹⁵ Van Dijk 1997, 40; 59; 78.

⁵⁹⁶ Tarlo 1996, 25; 54f.

⁵⁹⁷ Dar 1969, 75-78; Tarlo 1996, 23f.; 56f.

⁵⁹⁸ Dar 1969, 78; Ramanujan 1984, 32; Tarlo 1996, 52-56. For the same practice in Indonesia see Gelman Taylor 1997, 101. See also Goethert 2002, 95 for 'public' and 'private' clothing among the Treverans.

⁵⁹⁹ Not all Indian clothing was draped. Indeed, as a general rule, the garments associated with Muslims (Bayly 1986; Cohn 1989) were more fitted than those of Hindus, for whom draped clothing was considered more spiritually clean (Bhandari 2005, 105). The boundary is, however, not quite as clear as that, and the 'Muslim' garments were still far looser in fit than the Western dress of the time (see Tarlo 1996, 28f.).

⁶⁰⁰ Tarlo 1996, 28-32.

⁶⁰¹ See, again, especially Tert., *De pall.* 5.1-3.

⁶⁰² See Ghurye 1951, 215 for a short but intriguing discussion of tailored and draped clothing and a comparison to classical Greece and the ancient Celts.

⁶⁰³ E.g. Tac., *Hist.* 2.20.

⁶⁰⁴ Roche-Bernard 1993, 17.

⁶⁰⁵ Tac., *Germ.* 17. See also the section on 'The trousers' in chapter 4 above.

as likely), their portrayal in the toga can be traced not only to their legal status as Roman citizens, but also to a conformity to the expected attire of those men engaged in business and/or government which placed them, both physically and psychologically, into the larger context of empire-wide relations. The size of the stones shows the *togati* to be among the wealthiest people in Treverorum; they represent the economic and political elite. Much work has been done on the ways in which the Roman core managed to include provincial elites into a feeling of empire-wide culture, education and civilisation.⁶⁰⁶ It seems likely that this is what the *togati* of Trier also sought to express in their grave portraits. By the same token, the wearing of Gallic dress by the same men in scenes from everyday life need not be confusing; after all, the majority of these men were Treveran natives with a certain allegiance to their local culture and the toga was both uncomfortable and unsuitable for the northern Gallic climate. It is thus understandable that these men would discard the toga in situations in which they were not obliged to wear it, or in which its symbolic message was irrelevant.

d) The Gallic ensemble

In the previous sections it was established that in real terms, Roman dress, especially the toga, was a constant if gradually declining element of clothing choice on the portraits from the Treveran area and that the use of native dress, which in this area means the Gallic ensemble, increased rapidly from the mid 2nd cent. onwards to eventually dominate the spectrum. Far from it being the same people who earlier wore the toga now taking on the Gallic ensemble, what the distribution suggests is that it was a new group of people who were responsible for the rapid increase in the number of Roman-style gravestones from the end of the 1st cent. onward, i.e. who had previously been invisible, but who chose to wear the Gallic ensemble.⁶⁰⁷

The gradual increase both in the number of stones generally, and in the frequency of the Gallic ensemble on them, correlates chronologically with the period in which the Treveran area began to experience stability and prosperity and its economy became more integrated into that of the Roman Empire after the upheavals of the Batavian

Revolt in AD 69. The fact that hostility to Rome does not seem to have figured on a large scale politically from this date suggests that dissenters either left the area or changed their tune. It has been suggested that the departure of,⁶⁰⁸ or confiscation of wealth from, those elite Treveri involved in the uprising created a vacuum which swept new families into positions of power and wealth and generated a wave of social mobility.⁶⁰⁹ Like the toga-wearing super-elite described in the previous section, this putative new wealthy class was associated with both trade and land ownership.⁶¹⁰

The changes, however, were not confined to the elite. In fact, the new prospects for economic prosperity provided by the developments of this period instigated the growth of a new “trading class” whose pride in commercial enterprise and material wealth is behind the boom, in this period, of the everyday life scenes that characterise the funerary monuments of the region.⁶¹¹ We are presented with both the means of wealth – tenant farmers bringing rent, textiles and wine being sold and transported along the Moselle, artisans at work in their workshops – and also the lifestyle that this enabled: lavish banquets, hunting horses and gamekeepers, teams of hairdressers for the ladies of the family and tutors for the children.⁶¹² This was a community for which, as Drinkwater has noted, “the adjective really has to be ‘bourgeois’”.⁶¹³ The enthusiasm for self-display even reached to the more humble

⁶⁰⁸ Cf. Tac. *Hist.* 5.19.

⁶⁰⁹ Heinen 1985, 168ff.; Wightman 1970, 51; Goethert 2002, 36; Gabelmann 1987, 305.

⁶¹⁰ Gabelmann 1987, 305; Goethert 2002, 36; Wightman 1970, 51: “Among the prosperous Romanized Treveri of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, there are virtually none who suggest by their names that they are descended from the plentiful Julii of the 1st century, and it has been suggested that a class of *nouveaux riches* had arisen in the *civitas* after many old families had died out or become impoverished as a result of the events of AD 69-70. There is no doubt some truth in this, but many of the families concerned may have been landowners at least on a moderate scale in the first place, thereafter investing money in trade, since land was the commonest primary source of wealth.” Cf. Ternes who believes that the new elites were the descendants of the artisans that had previously worked for the former Treveran aristocracy (Ternes 1992, 32 with note 109). It is unclear whether they had any connection with the considerable number of inscriptions mentioning *seviri Augustales* in the Treveran area, e.g. *CIL* XIII 3695, 4152, 4153, 4154, 4192; Krier 1981, 187. *Seviri Augustales* were, in contrast to Italy, usually recruited from the provincial elite in this region (see Willer 2005, 91). We unfortunately cannot positively connect any of the early *togati* in our catalogue with the ‘Gallic Julii’ as associated inscriptions mentioning a IV-LIVS are entirely lacking. It cannot, however, be ruled out as, due to the size of the monuments and hence their fragmentary nature, most of our depictions in the Treveran area cannot be matched with their original inscriptions.

⁶¹¹ Hatt 1966, 66: “Le développement de la prospérité économique [of the 2nd cent.], et la multiplication des grosses fortunes bourgeoises amènent la floraison du réalisme dans l’art funéraire.”

⁶¹² See also the section ‘Roman-style grave monuments in the Rhine-Moselle region’ in chapter 3 above.

⁶¹³ Drinkwater 1978, 837. See Langner 2003 for a discussion of these attributes as a sign of the overriding orientation of the people of this region toward material wealth and economic identity. Langner plays down the sense of ‘everyday realism’ in these images and points out that what is shown is often an excessive and unsubtle accumulation of symbols of material wealth in combinations unrealistic to a given scene from everyday life.

⁶⁰⁶ See e.g. Brunt 1976; Haselgrove 1990; King 1990, esp. 67; Millett 1992; Galsterer 1998; Terrenato 1998; 2001; Woolf 1998, esp. 72-76; Hingley 2005, esp. 49-69. Drummond/Nelson 1994, 182f. also compare this practice with that of the British in India, but take a cynical view of their motivations: by seducing the elite to the trappings of the imperial culture, they argue, both the British and the Romans sought to alienate the elites from their local populations. See also the role of Western education in colonial Indonesia: van Dijk 1997, 59.

⁶⁰⁷ Cf. Noelke 1998, 413, who observed the trend in his study of meal scenes and concluded that those who had previously worn Roman dress were now wearing Gallic dress as a result of a new sense of regional identity: “Herrschaft wie Dienerschaft tragen auf den Reliefs des späten 2. und des 3. Jhs. einheimische Tracht. ... [D]ie Toga spielt seit der spätantoinisch-severischen Zeit nur noch eine untergeordnete Rolle. Offensichtlich spiegelt sich hierin ein Trachtwandel wider, der in einem neuen Bewusstsein regionaler Identität gründet.” Cf. also Freigang 1997b.

members of Treveran society: T93 is a small stone from Hentern erected for a smith, proudly holding up his pliers, and his wife, and Heinen has suggested a class of smaller-scale free farmers are responsible for a number of the Treveran gravestones of average size that do not indicate occupation.⁶¹⁴

As surges in epigraphic activity often go hand in hand with increased social mobility, the process described above goes some way to explain the rise in the number of gravestones and the arrival of a new group of people in the epigraphy of the Treveran area. As described above, this occurred simultaneously with a rise in the number of depictions of both men and women wearing the Gallic ensemble, so that it can be said the vast majority of this newly-visible class wore Gallic and not Roman dress. But neither the male nor the female version of the Gallic ensemble was *confined* to a particular class of people: it is worn on our stones by wealthy merchants⁶¹⁵ and landlords,⁶¹⁶ artisans,⁶¹⁷ slaves of both genders,⁶¹⁸ tenant farmers and agricultural labourers,⁶¹⁹ dockworkers,⁶²⁰ boatmen,⁶²¹ shop and office clerks,⁶²² shepherds,⁶²³ market vendors,⁶²⁴ a ship owner (M12), a wet nurse (U32), an *argentarius* (U41) and a teacher (T129).⁶²⁵ Moreover, far from being restricted to working life, it was worn during meals with the family,⁶²⁶ while shopping at the market,⁶²⁷ driving a wagon,⁶²⁸ riding,⁶²⁹ for religious ceremonies (T186) and even on the way to the baths (T92).

The origins of the ensembles were discussed in chapter 4. To recap briefly, the male Gallic ensemble, consisting of the Gallic tunic, Gallic cape and, sometimes, the scarf, was a regional ensemble that represented a continuation of the pre-Roman dress of those men in Gaul (and Germany) who had not worn the trouser ensemble, i.e., the non-warriors or non-cavalry. With the demise of the Gallic warrior culture came the demise of the dress, while the long tunic ensemble, our Gallic ensemble, remained and became the most common dress for men in

Gaul and, indeed, the north-western provinces, in the Roman period. The development of the female ensemble is more complicated. Archaeological evidence shows that the most common dress in our area before the Roman period was one that required *fibulae* and must have closely resembled Menimane's ensemble. The Gallic women's ensemble appears to have evolved during the Roman period to constitute an ankle-length version of the male Gallic tunic (perhaps derived from Menimane's bodice) and the ubiquitous rectangular cloak, *without* the brooches or garments that needed them. It also came to be more generally worn in the north-west, especially in the Treveran area, although the large amount of pictorial evidence from this area is likely to bias the impression. It can be found throughout northern Gaul, the Massif Central and northern Britannia.⁶³⁰

It appears that the Gallic ensemble for both men and women only gained such wide use in the Roman period; before that, at least some men had worn the trouser ensemble, and women wore a more elaborate outfit with additional garment(s) requiring *fibulae*.⁶³¹ It would appear, especially in the case of women, that the Gallic ensemble gained such wide appeal as a result of cultural processes set in motion by incorporation into the Roman Empire. It is, however, *not Roman dress*, inasmuch as it did not originate in the geographical core of the Empire and shows clear continuity with pre-Roman native dress in the region. How can we explain this?

Freigang briefly tackled this question in her survey of the Treveran gravestones. Although it is unfortunate that she does not mention the practical consideration of warmth in her explanation – fitted and hooded garments are more suitable for the climate of the north-western provinces – it seems unlikely that climate was the only factor in the choice of dress. But Freigang's claim that the Gallic ensemble was a new, invented set of garments which attempted to imitate the aesthetic and drapery of Roman clothing leaves the question unanswered as to why the people involved did not simply take on Roman dress. Her understanding of the Gallic ensemble explicitly denies its crucial native character.⁶³² Freigang explains the phenomenon as a testimony to the self-confidence and sense of independence of the Treverans as opposed to as a manifestation of resistance to Roman culture. But the former does not automatically contradict the latter, and saying that the prevalence of Gallic dress cannot be interpreted as a manifestation of resistance because this would "call into question the whole historical and cultural environment of the Treverans",⁶³³ is taking a very sweeping view of material culture.

⁶¹⁴ Heinen 1985, 175. See also Langner 2003 for statistics that also show that the materialistic mentality of the people in this region in the Roman period extended down the social hierarchy to artisans.

⁶¹⁵ T47, T62, T118, T129, T161, U35.

⁶¹⁶ T15, T35, T56, T62, T103, T117.

⁶¹⁷ T71, T93, T112, T115, T125-126, T132, T174.

⁶¹⁸ T15, T44, T56, T60, T62, T96, T117, T121, T127, T129, T131, T142, T152-153, T155, T157, T164, T169, T170, T174, M33, U45, U9.

⁶¹⁹ T15, T30, T35, T38, T56, T62, T104, T110, T112, T117, T133, T145, T159, T165-168, T187, M36.

⁶²⁰ T47, T62, M36.

⁶²¹ T149-150, U56.

⁶²² T33, T47, T62, T67, T102-103, T118, T120, T128-129, T145-147, T158, T160-161, T168, T172, T182, T185, M41.

⁶²³ U58, M35.

⁶²⁴ T30, T108.

⁶²⁵ A phenomenon that did not occur in Pannonia, where, in the Roman period, the Gallic cape was only worn by labourers (see Láng 1919, 249).

⁶²⁶ T15, T24, T32, T43-44, T62, T121, T127-128, T148, T153, T157, T169-170, T177, M33, M37, U45.

⁶²⁷ T30, T108.

⁶²⁸ T30, T32-33, T62, T101-103, T112, T114, T117, T124, T130, T151, T160, T166, T176, T178, T180.

⁶²⁹ T27, T60, T179.

⁶³⁰ See Audollent 1922, 44ff., pl. IX; Fournier 1956; Wild 1985, 388 with note 98.

⁶³¹ See the discussion of the origins of the ensemble in the section 'The 'Gallic ensemble' and Menimane's ensemble' in chapter 4 above.

⁶³² Freigang 1997a, 306f. Cf. also Langlois 1959-1962, 197.

⁶³³ Freigang 1997a, 308. My translation from the German.

Recent research into cultural processes in the Roman provinces has shown that some elements of material culture could be adopted while others were deliberately rejected.⁶³⁴ Clothing is the most personal form of material culture, and, as established in chapter 2, changes in it have much more significant implications in terms of identity than the adoption of other types of material culture. To take a modern example, India has often been considered the most Westernised of all non-Western countries in terms of lifestyle, education and the like,⁶³⁵ but although Indians have been familiar with Western dress for many years, indeed centuries, Indian styles of dress have always been, and still are, worn by the majority of men and almost all women.⁶³⁶ According to Emma Tarlo, Indians have resisted abandoning their styles of dress completely because doing so has always “seemed tantamount to a desertion of one’s own people.”⁶³⁷ Returning to the Treverans, Freigang’s reading of the evidence as testimony to their self-confidence is, in fact, consistent with the notion that despite adopting Roman culture in many external aspects of their lives, they may have consciously chosen not to do so when it came to the most personal and identity-related realm of material culture.

But of course it is not quite this simple. If it were, at least some of the civilians who appear on our stones would be still be wearing the trousers and Menimane’s ensemble until the end of the period of our stones. The Gallic ensemble, on the other hand, is native dress that was not worn, or (in the case of men) not as widely, before the Roman period. This points to a more complex sartorial process that was triggered by incorporation into the Roman Empire. This is especially interesting in the case of women, who developed a wholly new, but fundamentally native, dress ensemble at the end of the 1st cent. AD. Here, again, the clothing of India is illuminating, for it includes some garments which, although thoroughly Indian, came to possess new forms and wider use in the wake of Westernisation.⁶³⁸

Both the *shalwar kameez*, a tunic (*kameez*) and trouser (*shalwar*) combination worn with a thin scarf (*dupatta*) that originated with the Mogul rulers of India, and the sari, which developed in the late 18th cent. out of a shorter scarf originally worn with a blouse and skirt by Hindu women,⁶³⁹ can shed light on the meaning of the

female Gallic ensemble. Before the fundamental changes to the cultural, political and economic fabric of India that occurred from the late 18th cent. onward as a result of British activity, women’s dress in India had been entirely dictated by caste and small-scale regional ethnic grouping. With the growth of cities, however, and appendant developments such as the evolution of a large Indian middle class and a unisex education system, grew a need for an appropriate set of clothes for urban, middle-class women.⁶⁴⁰ Both the *shalwar kameez* and the sari came to fulfil this role.⁶⁴¹

Although there are, obviously, some major differences between the scenario in the Roman north-west and modern India – localised and caste-specific female dress, for example, still prevails in rural India, while Menimane’s ensemble appears from the decline in brooch finds to have disappeared from both urban and rural Treveran society within the space of a few generations – various of the properties of these two Indian garments are relevant to the development of the Gallic ensemble. First, like the female Gallic ensemble, the sari, although developed from some elements of earlier native dress, was a brand new outfit that was engineered by the native population in response to integration into an empire and the changes that this brought. It is highly significant that the dress chosen by women in this new context was *not* the dress of the imperial power, but a *new native dress*. Elsewhere, I have labelled this phenomenon a ‘Third Way’ in the processes at work in the Roman provinces.⁶⁴² Second, unlike the sari and like the male Gallic ensemble, the *shalwar kameez* was not a new invention of the 19th cent., but it grew from being the dress of Muslims in the north-west to constituting, like the sari, a pan-Indian garment worn widely, especially by women, in the cities of the sub-continent.

Who wears the sari and who the *shalwar kameez* is largely a matter of age and taste: school girls and young women tend to prefer the practicality of the *shalwar kameez*,⁶⁴³ while the feminine and dignified drapery of the sari is preferred by older women and for more formal occasions. Both, however, can be made out of any kind of fabric, and as such can accommodate both variations in taste and status and the whims of

⁶⁴⁰ See Dar 1969, 75f.

⁶⁴¹ Ghurye 1951, 150; 160; 169; 175; 212; Ramanujan 1984, 32; Tarlo 1996, 128. Cf. also Dar 1969, 79: “In the midst of all these distinctly local styles, the *sari* stands today as the principal national costume of the Indian woman. The only other garment which approaches it in popularity is the trousers [the *shalwar kameez*].”

⁶⁴² Rothe forthcoming.

⁶⁴³ See Ramachandra Guha in *The Hindu* newspaper, Sunday October 24, 2004: “Why has the *salwar* become so ubiquitous in a region [southern India] where it was unknown only a generation before? The answer must be that this is a dress not seen as ‘Western’ or immodest, and yet a dress that allows one to go to school or college, and to participate in the work force. Jeans and tops can be worn in cosmopolitan Bangalore, but in Doddballapur they would be quite unacceptable. The *salwar* is suitably ‘decent’, yet it allows far more mobility than either the *pavade* or the sari. One can walk in it, one can bicycle in it, one can even run a 100-metre race in it.” See also Tarlo 1996, 28; 129-250.

⁶³⁴ See most recently Hingley 2005, 91-116.

⁶³⁵ Mazrui 1970, 23 echoing Plamenatz 1960.

⁶³⁶ Plamenatz 1960; Mazrui 1970, 23; Tarlo 1996, 24.

⁶³⁷ Tarlo 1996, 24.

⁶³⁸ For a more detailed version of the following see Rothe forthcoming.

⁶³⁹ Fabri 1960, 7: “There is another fallacious belief that should be corrected here. This is the wide-spread belief that the sari of today is of hoary antiquity. It is true that the word *sari* occurs in very ancient texts, but the word used there meant a very different garment from that worn today.” (Fabri’s italics). See also Ramanujan 1984, 30. The sari is usually worn approximately 6m long, but some Brahmin women wear it as long as 9m. For a regional-based description of the development of the sari and its various forms see Ghurye 1951, 156; 160-164; 169, 175; 190f.; 199f.; 212 and Dar 1969, 90f. For a more detailed account of the evolution of the sari over time and place, see Fabri 1960, 9; 26; 88-91 and pl. XXVIII and XIX.

fashion. In fact, they allow women to follow Western fashion in fabrics and patterns while crucially retaining an Indian style of dress.⁶⁴⁴ The fact that synthetic material can be used also rules out the time spent ironing and starching the more traditional fabrics.

Emma Tarlo's research on dress in India has shown that both the *shalwar kameez* and the sari are invested with similar meanings and have been adopted so widely for very similar reasons. These can best be observed in rural India, where modern Indian dress is still acquiring a foothold and sartorial matters are frequently at issue. In the villages of Tarlo's study, the physical properties of the sari and *shalwar kameez* as described above stand in marked contrast to the traditional dress of village women, which often involved heavy, elaborately decorated skirts, complicated drapery and a great deal of jewellery.⁶⁴⁵ These features also made village dress highly conspicuous, while the symbolism imparted to the component parts meant that it was relatively static and unchangeable.⁶⁴⁶

Many examples from Tarlo's research in northern India show that the wearing of the sari was associated with modernity and progress.⁶⁴⁷ For rural women and those of lower castes, it was also associated with upward mobility.⁶⁴⁸ Tarlo met many young village women who expressed the desire to be allowed to shed their local dress and don the sari, not just because it was cheaper and made out of more practical fabric, but because "[f]or them, being dressed in saris was a means of participating in a modern world that extended beyond the limited confines of the village."⁶⁴⁹ The plainness and practicality of the *shalwar kameez* made it an ideal choice for the younger women going to school in the larger towns,⁶⁵⁰ it is described as "both modern and Indian".⁶⁵¹ Village dress was deemed inappropriate for students at city

schools because it connotes backwardness and rural origin, and, by implication, illiteracy and parochialism.⁶⁵² Both the sari and the *shalwar kameez* are in this respect middle-class dress, forming both a "shared sartorial image" for the urban middle classes, and an image to aspire to for rural women and those of lower social rank.⁶⁵³

The sari and the *shalwar kameez* as symbols of 'modernity' and 'progress' are recurring themes in studies of dress in modern India. Emma Tarlo writes,

Quite apart from the fact that synthetic saris and *shalwar kamizes* are relatively cheap and easy to maintain, ... their adoption is part of a process by which [people] can distance themselves from the backward associations of local dress and join the ranks of the 'progressive'. Adopting such clothes becomes one of the many strategies through which a social group is able to upgrade itself.⁶⁵⁴

The abstract notions of modernity and progress are crucial here, not aspiration to Western culture *per se*. Both are ideas that were, just like railways and wireless radios, *imported* to India, but are no longer consciously considered as such.⁶⁵⁵ They are things that can be aspired to no matter what one's ethnic background is. Indeed, the sari and the *shalwar kameez* are consciously Indian dress. It is in these modern, pan-Indian garments that such abstract notions are lived out. They symbolise wider geographical consciousness, a means by which people can "reveal through their dress that they are content to be Indian but that they also participate in trends that transcend national boundaries."⁶⁵⁶ Ramanujan says of the sari:

India has as many costumes as languages. The sari serves as a link costume, just as English serves as a link language. Neither existed in India two hundred years ago.⁶⁵⁷

Nor are the sari and *shalwar kameez* in India unique in this respect. The formation of new, broader ethnic identities out of smaller, often tribal, units has been a common response of native people to rule by an imperial power throughout history.⁶⁵⁸ Eisenstadt observed

⁶⁴⁴ Tarlo 1996, 185f.; 192-194; 281; 323f.; 331; 337; Ramanujan 1984, 32. See Dar 1969, 79-81 for the evolution of the *shalwar kameez* fashion over time.

⁶⁴⁵ Ghurye speaks of skirts in northern India that were made from 20 yards of fabric (Ghurye 1951, 158). See also Dar's account of the rise of the *shalwar kameez* in the Punjab: "Gradually the wide-bottomed trousers rose to the very height of fashion in the whole of the Punjab, and elegant women of all castes and creeds began to vie with one another in the length of their tunics and the width of the leg-endings of their ample *shalwar* trousers. Young women with visions of a changing world were repelled by the look of advanced age which greeted them in the heavy petticoats of their elders." (Dar 1969, 79). For a recent and comprehensive survey of Indian regional ensembles and jewellery see Bhandari 2005.

⁶⁴⁶ See Tarlo's description of Gujarati village dress: 1996, 202-283.

⁶⁴⁷ E.g. Tarlo 1996, 46; 128; 145; 147; 250; 256.

⁶⁴⁸ Tarlo 1996, 147. E.g. the *Kanbi* caste in the village where Tarlo was conducting her fieldwork: Tarlo 1996, 250.

⁶⁴⁹ Tarlo 1996, 249. See also Mehta 1990, 124 who describes the adoption of the sari by Oswal women as "the symbol of ... entry into a new world". The causes of this new perspective are cited by Bhandari as the spread of education, the breaking-down of traditional occupations (with their work-specific dress), urbanisation, migration, the effects of the media and social mobility (Bhandari 2005, 24). Cf. also the villagers of colonial Java at the turn of the century who migrated in increasing numbers to cities and whose "increasingly neutral outfit" gave them "access to a strange new space" (Mrázek 1997, 119).

⁶⁵⁰ Tarlo 1996, 133f. with note 8; 200; 281.

⁶⁵¹ Tarlo 1996, 335. See also Dar 1969, 83-85.

⁶⁵² Ghurye 1951, 148; Tarlo 1996, 28; 130-134; 145; 186; 243.

⁶⁵³ In India, "the middle classes in towns and villages seemed to be formulating a *shared sartorial image* in which the synthetic sari and *shalwar kamiz* had a central place" (Tarlo 1996, 324. The first set of italics are mine.)

⁶⁵⁴ Tarlo 1996, 324.

⁶⁵⁵ The dominance of British culture meant that the values it propagated could "no longer be disentangled from Indian thought": Tarlo 1996, 200.

⁶⁵⁶ Tarlo 1996, 335.

⁶⁵⁷ Ramanujan 1984, 30. See also Ghurye, who said that British rule brought "an element of uniformity" to female dress in India (Ghurye 1951, 223).

⁶⁵⁸ But it does not always occur for the same reason. Among the Tswana of southern Africa and the Australian Aborigines larger native groupings formed at the expense of smaller tribal identities out of the need to form a united political front against the colonial power (Comaroff/Comaroff 1992; Tonkinson 1990). In other cases, such as

that it is only in the face of large-scale cultural pressure – he cites the establishment of the great religions and imperial conquest as examples – that ‘traditional’ societies develop “new symbols of collectivity” that breach existing (smaller) spheres of orientation.⁶⁵⁹ This study proposes that the Gallic ensemble, with its twinned elements of native origin and innovation, also served as a “link costume” that symbolised the wider geographical perspective and new cultural notions that prevailed in many parts of the Roman north-west after integration into the Roman Empire.⁶⁶⁰ The similarities with similar phenomena in more recent contexts, such as modern India, are too numerous to ignore. Moreover, a similar process has been observed for other cultural factors in the region, such as the Matron deities in the Ubian area. Woolf has concluded in his study of these:

Modern globalisation and similar processes in the past connect up social locales that were hitherto remote. That sense of a larger system induces a corresponding sense of one’s own position in it. A stress on local identity is a common response and, occasionally, one that brings advantages.⁶⁶¹

Scholars such as Ramanujan make the distinction between foreign invasions and cultural exchange generally on the one hand, and the specific dynamics of imperialism on the other. Talking of the development of the *shalwar kameez*, she says:

Although the design of the clothes was influenced by Indian taste, the impetus for later changes in dress came from the continued presence of both Muslims and the British. India had 28 invasions. But ... only the last two of these invaders set up empires. Imperialism influenced Indian fashions ...⁶⁶²

In other words, it is not merely the exposure to a foreign culture that causes the changes observed here, it is the specific dynamics of incorporation into an empire, especially with regard to ideas. Both the British and the Roman empires generated an ideal of progress and civilisation and a feeling of involvement in a larger context.⁶⁶³ In the Roman Empire this applies first and foremost to the provincial elites, who were exposed in their classical education to a common Roman repertoire of mythology

and imperialist rhetoric.⁶⁶⁴ But it is a commonplace that ideals held by the elite gradually spread through to other classes, whether in India, Rome or anywhere else,⁶⁶⁵ and the social mobility caused by the upheavals of the 1st cent. after Caesar’s conquest in the Treveran area that Heinen and others believe to have identified may have created an atmosphere of potential in a wider circle than those immediately affected.

It is likely, in this light, that the ‘local costume’ still worn proudly by Menimane in the Claudian period (M12), with its brooches and other bulky jewellery was gradually abandoned for similar reasons to those cited by Gujarati women who were abandoning their local dress: its very conspicuousness and the specificity of its associations with place and the past increasingly rendered it inappropriate to a changing world. In this context it is perhaps significant that the most significant change to women’s dress in our region was the disappearance of the *fibulae*, that, in their different forms, as Böhme has shown, were so closely linked to tribal identity.⁶⁶⁶

At the same time, the fact that distinctions in taste, class, wealth and status were nonetheless achievable with both the sari and the *shalwar kameez* by means of using different qualities of fabric and styles of print may be the key to understanding why the Gallic ensemble is worn in identical form by members of, apparently, almost all classes of Treveran society.⁶⁶⁷ Unfortunately, as mentioned several times above, relief depictions give us little indication of the fabric used for the garments depicted. It is possible that status distinctions were also expressed through type of fabric in the Treveran area.

It is significant in both cases that the clothing chosen to symbolise the new identity was not the dress of the imperial power, but distinctly native. What the example of India shows is that the material culture of an imperial power must be separated from the ideas and values it imparts to its conquered peoples. The cultural processes in an imperial situation are not as clear-cut as simply being a dialogue between two sets of material culture.⁶⁶⁸ As mentioned above, although India is con-

the Tsonga of South Africa and the Kayapo of Brazil, large group identities were imposed on previously disparate groups by the colonial administration in order to facilitate more effective control (Harries 1989; Turner 1991). See also the recent clothing behaviour of native North Americans who have been adopting an increasingly “pan-Indian” style of dress that is distinctly native but borrows elements from various specific tribal dress ensembles (Thompson Miller 1979, 329). The case of India is, however, the most comparable of these, and was thus selected for more detailed treatment.

⁶⁵⁹ Eisenstadt 1973, 328.

⁶⁶⁰ See Wierschowski 1995 for increased geographical mobility in Gaul after Roman conquest.

⁶⁶¹ Woolf 2003, 138.

⁶⁶² Ramanujan 1984, 31.

⁶⁶³ For a dated but eloquent and detailed account of Westernisation in India see Srinivas 1966, 46–88, where emphasis is placed more on changes in values, world-view and education than material culture.

⁶⁶⁴ See, e.g., Woolf 1998. For *humanitas* as a Roman elite ideal in many ways comparable to ‘civilisation’ in the 19th cent., see Braund 1997.

⁶⁶⁵ See for the north-western Roman provinces Millett 1990. It should not be forgotten that ideas of modernity and progress were of utmost significance even to the poorer women in the villages of north-west India in which Tarlo did most of her research.

⁶⁶⁶ See Böhme-Schönberger 1994 and the section ‘The ‘Gallic ensemble’ and Menimane’s ensemble’ in chapter 4 above.

⁶⁶⁷ Ghurye 1951, 152 (of northern India): “The difference between the richer and the poorer classes shows itself more in the material of the garments than in their pattern ...” This was also the case in Indonesia, where the *sarong* was “essentially the same for all classes, with status being indicated by quality of cloths worn, their designs, and by jewellery” (Gelman Taylor 1997, 93).

⁶⁶⁸ Cf. also the distinction between values and material culture in the behaviour of Siona native people of Colombia, who began to cover their bodies more after contact with Westerners as a result of the penetration of Christian ideals of modesty. The garment chosen,

sidered one of the most Westernised of all non-western nations, it has also shown itself to be particularly resistant to Western dress.⁶⁶⁹

So does the Gallic ensemble symbolise ‘resistance’? To answer this one needs to be clear what the term means. Various attempts have been made to present it in a more nuanced fashion, by, for example, distinguishing between ‘overt’ and ‘covert’ resistance.⁶⁷⁰ But perhaps a more helpful way of seeing it is to do away with the idea that resistance must necessarily involve a conscious decision to do, or indeed not to do, something in order to disconcert a third party and to return to an understanding of the word that involves a certain amount of indifference. It is significant that in the Treveran area, the majority of the population did not wear Roman dress. But there may be a combination of reasons for this. In India, those cited for not adopting Western dress were, among other things, its unsuitability to Indian climate, its high price and the fact that it was not always readily available, its incompatibility with native ideals of female decency,⁶⁷¹ its association with having to behave differently and, of course, its symbolising of abandonment of one’s native identity. All of these factors may have played a role in northern Gaul as well.⁶⁷²

It is, incidentally, unlikely that the evolution of the Gallic ensemble constitutes anything resembling an ‘invention of tradition’ in the sense of the well-known volume edited by Eric Hobsbawm.⁶⁷³ The criteria for this interpretation would include a conscious effort on the part of those wishing to spread the use of the dress, and a deliberated parallel production of a consciousness of this dress as a tradition, as an element from the past. It is more likely that the wearers of the ensemble in Gaul were aware, at least to some extent, of the real origins of the dress and that it signified a considered look to the future rather than a deliberate rewriting of the past.

In light of the discussion above, seeing the Treveran preference for the Gallic ensemble as a simple act of political defiance or, on the other hand, Freigang’s view that the Gallic ensemble was a ‘Romanised’ ensemble

however, was a locally-invented tunic, the *cusma*, and not Western dress (Langdon 1979, 303–311).

⁶⁶⁹ Bhandari 2005, 24: “Although the British brought some westernisation of dress, ... most Indians resisted any change in their regular attire, which was, and is, closely related to the identity and culture.”

⁶⁷⁰ Hingley 1997, 88.

⁶⁷¹ The major difference in the status of women between India and the Roman north-west must be born in mind. The *shalwar kameez*, and non-traditional clothes in general, are closely linked to changes in the status of women in India and their increasing freedom from the restrictions of *pardah* and other institutions of female concealment, a contrast which is not likely to have existed in such an extreme way between Roman and northern Gallic Celtic society, and may even have been the reverse. For detailed analyses of the changing status of women in 20th cent. India see Nanda 1990.

⁶⁷² The concept of personal choice which is so contentious when considering a topic like resistance in ‘pre-modern’ societies may be considered largely immaterial here: in India, where the concept of ‘self’ is less developed than in the Western world, it is compensated for in group identities, and groups are equally capable of resisting cultural change. See Ramanujan 1984, 32 with further literature.

⁶⁷³ Hobsbawm/Ranger 1983.

whose principle aim was to ape the style of clothing in the imperial capital are both missing the point. Clothing *did* change as a result of incorporation into the Roman Empire, but this was more likely caused by the spread of a new set of values and a feeling of inclusion into a wider cultural context and not due to direct emulation of specific aspects of Roman material culture. What the examples from India have shown is that, in an imperial context, people can choose aspects of a dominant culture and reject others, and that this can apply to ideals and values as well as elements of material culture. The abundance of many aspects of Roman material culture (including Roman-style funerary monuments) in the Treveran area and its inhabitants’ apparent aptitude for successful commercial enterprise coupled with their clothing behaviour show that, like many Indians, the Treverans were capable of taking what was useful from Roman culture and the imperial situation they found themselves in while taking pride in their native identity.

Whether or not this also extended to the male Gallic ensemble is more difficult to determine. It is conceivable that the men were simply continuing to wear what most of them had already worn in the pre-Roman period, and that, just like in India and virtually all other places where this phenomenon has been observed, it is in women’s dress that the dynamics of native self-recognition and imperial integration are played out.

Middle Rhine area

a) Chronological patterns

The gravestones from the Middle Rhine area reflect its history and social structure. Firstly, the vast majority come from Mainz, uncovered largely due to building activity in the modern era and the demolition of the city wall.⁶⁷⁴ Secondly, in keeping with a general trend in the western empire and the changing circumstances in Mainz, most of the gravestones date to the 1st cent. After Trajan, the number decreases significantly until the early 3rd cent. when fragments indicate that large grave pillars such as that at Igel were also erected in the Mainz area and sarcophagi begin to appear, but in nowhere near the numbers known from the neighbouring Treveran and Ubian regions.⁶⁷⁵

In the Middle Rhine area, the results for men (Table 7) and women (Table 8) differ greatly. Most of the stones date to the 1st cent. No depictions of females date to beyond AD 100. In the 1st cent., Roman dress clearly predominates among men, while it is the mixed ensemble that predominates among women. In the few male depictions that date to the 2nd cent. or later, native dress predominates, suggesting a similar development to that observed in the Treveran area. The small number of depictions, however, means that this suggestion must

⁶⁷⁴ Kronmayer 1983, 167.

⁶⁷⁵ Kronmayer 1983, 5; Boppert 1992b, 13.

remain tentative.

The high frequency of mixed ensembles among women in the Middle Rhine area in the mid 1st cent. is striking and contrasts with the mere two instances of this dress type on each of the other five graphs. This phenomenon will be looked at in a separate section below.

b) Sub-regional geographical patterns

The difference in dress behaviour in the Middle Rhine area for a geographical division by north and south (Table 14) is not very significant: Roman dress prevails in both areas for men, and mixed ensembles are the most common dress choice for women, although this phenomenon is most common in the north. When taken from a rural/urban perspective (Table 15), the results are as follows: Roman dress clearly predominates for men in both urban Mainz (with Mainz-Weisenau) and the rest of the area. Among urban females, however, native dress prevails, while among their rural counterparts, mixed ensembles are the most common. This echoes the primarily rural distribution of mixed garment ensembles that we saw in the Treveran area.

It is interesting to note that despite the high frequency of Roman dress in Mainz, this does not reflect a wide use of the toga, but other imported dress such as the *sagum* and especially the *pallium*. The scarcity of the toga in Mainz will be discussed in the next section below, while the popularity of the *pallium* in the Middle Rhine area as a whole will be discussed in section d). It is, however, important to point out at this stage that the high rate of Roman dress in Mainz does not seem to correspond to a high rate of Roman citizenship. In other words, Roman dress was popular among commissioners of gravestones in Mainz, but many of these people do not seem to have been Roman citizens. Considering most of these stones date to the 1st cent., the latter is perhaps unsurprising, but the former is, and must be attributed either to local people who were enthusiastic about the styles of the newcomers to the area and were perhaps eager to display a certain elevation of their status, or immigrants who had travelled with the Roman army to the area, but who were not Roman citizens.

The low rate of native dress among females in the rural part of the Middle Rhine area is intriguing. Women were far more likely to choose a mixture of native and Roman dress. The high frequency of mixed dress in this area will be discussed further in the final section of the chapter.

c) The toga

13 stones portray men in the toga in the Middle Rhine area, which relatively speaking is a greater proportion than in the Treveran area.⁶⁷⁶ The chronology is less helpful than for the Treveran area as most datable stones

depicting the toga are from the 1st cent.⁶⁷⁷ Nonetheless, it is worth noting that only one toga portrait dates to after AD 100 (M31). What is more striking is that the toga portraits are *not* concentrated in Mainz. Only four stones are from Mainz and Mainz-Weisenau,⁶⁷⁸ while the majority are from the more rural remainder of the area.⁶⁷⁹ Where other family members are depicted, the men wear the *pallium* (M22) while almost all the women wear native clothing, most commonly Menimane's ensemble, albeit with the *palla* or rectangular cloak draped like a *palla* (M20-22). One wife and daughter wear the female Gallic ensemble (M9), while the stone from Kruft is the only one to show a woman in Roman dress (M23).

So what kind of people chose the toga for their portraits in the Middle Rhine area? Information as to occupation is almost entirely lacking, as is onomastic evidence. The only surviving names are on M21 and are Latin and Greek, while the only hint at occupation is the scene of a man leading barbarians in chains on the stone from Nickenich (M22) which has aroused speculation that the man had a military past⁶⁸⁰ or was a local magistrate responsible for putting on gladiatorial games involving barbarian fighters.⁶⁸¹ In an area with such a large military presence as the Middle Rhine area, where most inscriptions are for soldiers, it is tempting to see these *togati* as army veterans, but several factors speak against this. Very few veterans seem to have settled in this area upon finishing their *stipendium* and there is only scant evidence of veterans in the Mainz gravestones.⁶⁸² Many may have returned to their homes or moved to more prestigious towns such as Cologne.⁶⁸³ Also, one would expect these veterans, like their counterparts further down the Rhine, to concentrate in and around the military urban centre in Mainz, while in our pattern this is not the case.

What stands out is that most of the portraits that depict the toga in the rural Middle Rhine area come from particularly large stones: they have either been classified as grave pillars or display standing portraits that are life-sized. The rural distribution of most of the stones coupled with their size, the appearance of the womenfolk in native/Roman mixed dress and the fact that they accumulate in the early to mid 1st cent. suggest that many belonged to rural native families who were wealthy or became wealthy as a result of the Roman conquest. It is possible that they owned large estates and prospered in the business of supplying the Roman military with foodstuffs.

But why do we not have many *togati* in Mainz itself?

⁶⁷⁷ M2, M5, M10, M16, M20-24. See also Appendix II, Table 7.

⁶⁷⁸ M2, M5, M9-10.

⁶⁷⁹ Selzen: M16; Ingelheim: M20; Bingerbrück: M21; Nickenich: M22; Kruft: M23; Koblenz: M24, M27-28; Bad Kreuznach: M31.

⁶⁸⁰ Schoppa 1957, 52; Bauchhenß 1975, 94.

⁶⁸¹ Neuffer 1932, 27; Petrikovits et al. 1963, 39.

⁶⁸² Hope lists seven in total (Hope 2001, 38 note 11).

⁶⁸³ See a legionary veteran who had been a *curator* at Mainz who was commemorated at Milan: *CIL* V 5747.

⁶⁷⁶ M2, M5, M9-10, M16, M20-24, M27-28, M31.

Although some of the troops stationed at Mainz after the 1st cent. may have been recruited locally, recent studies, above all Kronmayer's epigraphic survey, have shown that claims in earlier literature that the civilian population at Mainz was well integrated and prosperous were too optimistic.⁶⁸⁴ To start with, the local population seems to have remained fragmented into military, non-native civilian or native civilian groups. Far fewer locals appear to have been recruited into the army than was previously assumed.⁶⁸⁵ A large number of the inhabitants were merchants and traders, many of them immigrants, and artisans and their families, as suggested by the high number of forges, potteries and shoemakers' workshops in most of the civilian settlements.⁶⁸⁶ There also seems to have been a huge disparity in wealth resulting in a severe hierarchy. In comparison to other parts of the empire, the epigraphic evidence reveals a very low life expectancy for Mainz. Kronmayer has suggested that health problems may have been a result of the topography of the area (swamps, river floodplains) coupled with the general poverty, poor living conditions and unhealthy occupations of the local population.⁶⁸⁷ Finally, Kronmayer claims to have identified an element of economic, educational and social discrimination in Mainz against the native population. Altogether the names of the people on the stones show that a high-ranking job was more likely to be given to those with an Italian rather than a Celtic name. The lack of integration between the civilian and military inhabitants in the 1st cent. in Mainz is also reflected in the style of the gravestones; they are very clearly distinguishable from one another. The constant movements of units to and from Mainz in this period will also have made long-term social ties with the native population virtually impossible and contributed to an atmosphere of instability.

The large number of stones commissioned by soldiers compared to the small number for civilians points to the soldiers as a privileged group in society.⁶⁸⁸ Going by the, albeit late, theatre, the total population at Mainz must have been considerable,⁶⁸⁹ but there are very few inscriptions relating to civilians, and even less with portraits.⁶⁹⁰ This must reflect a certain disinclination or lack of financial capacity on the part of the civilian population to commission stone grave monuments. Most of the indigenous stones were found in Weisenau and Selzen, but very few from the necropolis of the legionary camp.⁶⁹¹ The initially starkly segregated cemeteries show a gradual mixing after the 1st cent., suggesting the gap between military and civilian was gradually diminishing.⁶⁹² Unfortunately, the area has yielded very few portrait stones from this period onwards that may have shed light on the

further development of the local population.

d) The pallium

The *pallium* appears ten times on our stones. Like the toga, it is almost entirely restricted to portraits;⁶⁹³ it only otherwise appears once in a meal scene (M37) and once in a reading scene (T122). Both the latter scenes, however, may have been intended as portraits and in any case do not show the wearer at work. What is striking is the accumulation of *pallium* depictions in the 1st cent. Middle Rhine area, especially in the middle of the century: only two stones come from outside this area (U53, T122). Of the eight from the Middle Rhine area, five date to the mid 1st cent., one to the early 1st cent., one to the late 1st cent. Only the meal scene (M37) dates to a later period (late 2nd/early 3rd cent.). The dates of the stones from outside the Middle Rhine area (T122, U53) are unknown.

Who are the people wearing the *pallium*? Apart from perhaps the reclining veteran (M14), where there is at least speculation that he may be indigenous, and the stones from Arlon and Zulpich (T122, U53), all appear to be natives of the Middle Rhine area. This can be seen in the fact that many of them are depicted sitting front on⁶⁹⁴ and with female members of the family wearing either Menimane's ensemble⁶⁹⁵ or the Gallic ensemble (M37). Two are depicted with a dog, one at the man's feet (M6), the other on the man's lap (M18), which seems also to be a native topos, characteristic of this area.⁶⁹⁶

In most cases the man or men wearing the *pallium* are either the main male figure or the *paterfamilias*.⁶⁹⁷ In two cases, however, the *palliat*i appear to be the sons (M22, M25). On the stone from Koblenz (M25), the man's father wears the Gallic ensemble and his mother wears Menimane's ensemble, while what appear to be his sisters wear *tunicae* and *pallae*, albeit with disc pendants and torques. On the stone from Nickenich (M22), a boy and a man wear *pallia* while another male figure (father?) wears a toga and his wife Menimane's ensemble.

So what does the wearing of the *pallium*, especially by men of the 1st cent. in the Middle Rhine area, tell us about these people? Other features on some of the stones provide a clue: at least three of the stones depicted dancing Maenads and/or Attis on the sides (M6, M17, M22) and two of the men hold a scroll (M22, M25), while one reads from a scroll (T122). The meaning of the holding of a scroll in Roman portraits has not yet been conclusively interpreted. Some have linked it to the occupation of the holder as an official or magis-

⁶⁸⁴ E.g. Schoppa 1963, 9; Decker/Selzer 1976, 496.

⁶⁸⁵ Kronmayer 1983, 143f.; 167; 190.

⁶⁸⁶ Decker/Selzer 1976, 470f.; 486; 487 with further literature; Kronmayer 1983, 188.

⁶⁸⁷ Kronmayer 1983, 162; 168; 189.

⁶⁸⁸ Kronmayer 1983, 161f.; 166.

⁶⁸⁹ See Decker/Selzer 1976, 504.

⁶⁹⁰ Decker/Selzer 1976, 542 counted 49 gravestones for civilians in comparison to 296 for military personnel.

⁶⁹¹ Boppert 1992b, 22.

⁶⁹² Hope 2001, 44.

⁶⁹³ M3, M6, M14, M17-18, M22, M25, U53.

⁶⁹⁴ M3, M6, M17-18, M25. See the discussion of this portrait form in 'Portraits vs. everyday life' in chapter 3.

⁶⁹⁵ M17(?) -18, M22, M25.

⁶⁹⁶ Cf. the dog on Menimane's lap: M12.

⁶⁹⁷ M3, M6, M14, M17-18, M37.

trate; others interpret it as a will, although the fact that it is often held by several members of the family, moreover younger ones, seems to speak against this idea.⁶⁹⁸ It has also been interpreted as a certificate of citizenship or marriage. Many have seen it as a visual signifier of literacy and education, and this interpretation does not, of course, exclude the others.⁶⁹⁹ As the lowest common denominator, perhaps interpreting the scroll simply as a sign of education is the most helpful, whatever specific documents may or may not have been intended.⁷⁰⁰

The symbolism of the scroll is, in any case, not out of place with the *pallium*: the Romans regarded the *pallium* as part of Greek national dress, and it corresponded to the Greek *himation*.⁷⁰¹ In *de Pallio*, Tertullian argues for its use by all Romans because of its practicality, but it was also generally associated with refinement and education and was thus adopted by Roman intellectuals and, later, Christians.⁷⁰² Tertullian says, speaking as the *pallium*:

*De meo vestiuntur et primus informator litterarum et primus enodator vocis et primus numerorum harenarius et grammaticus et rhetor et sophista et medicus et poeta et qui musicam pulsant et qui stellarum coniectat et qui volaticam spectat. Omnis liberalitas studiorum quattuor meis angulis tegitur.*⁷⁰³

Although these feature on other stones as well, the scrolls, and perhaps also the mythological scenes, on some of our stones show that the symbolism of Roman education and intellectuality was known to the people of this region, and the wearing of the *pallium* was the sartorial element in this visual ensemble, as Andrikopolou-Strack has argued:

Die Wahl des *pallium* als Gewand des Grabinhabers bezeugt im allgemeinen den Willen des Auftraggebers, sich als *litteratus* und *μουσικός ἀνὴρ*, d.h. als Mann mit literarischen und musischen Interessen, darstellen zu lassen. Ob das *pallium* im Rheingebiet auch im Alltag getragen wurde – zum Beispiel von Nichtrömern – oder ob es nur dem ‘Vorbilder-repertoire der Grabsteinmetzen’ entstammt, ist nicht mehr festzustellen. Das häufige Vorkommen dieser Gewandungsform in der römischen Sepulkralkunst auch des Rheingebietes macht deutlich, dass der Sinngehalt der Darstellung als *palliat* dem

Auftraggeber gegenwärtig war.⁷⁰⁴

The *pallium* may not, as Andrikopolou-Strack also writes, have ever actually been worn by these men. But even if it was not, and the *pallium* belonged simply to a set of figurative models made available to the commissioner of the monument by the mason, this does not mean that the symbolism was not real. The fact that many of these men appear to have been wealthy natives in an early period of Roman occupation who wanted to be depicted as educated in the culture and language of *Romanitas* reveals an enthusiasm for at least this sphere of Roman culture. That they are not depicted in the toga may mean that they had not acquired Roman citizenship, but nevertheless saw themselves very much within the context of the new culture, and wanted to express this in their portraits. The two stones which show what would appear to be sons wearing the *pallium* (M22, M25) and holding scrolls demonstrate a certain aspiration on the part of the native parents for their sons to embrace Roman intellectual culture, or pride in the education of these sons thus far.⁷⁰⁵ Although Wild missed a number of the *pallium* depictions in our area in his survey of 1985, his characterisation of the garment as “a minority fashion”⁷⁰⁶ is accurate; but it is a fashion which represented something. It symbolised a positive attitude, if not necessarily to Roman imperial culture as a whole, then to the idea of education and sophistication it propagated.

e) Menimane’s ensemble

As demonstrated above,⁷⁰⁷ the Ubian women’s ensemble and Menimane’s ensemble are two distinct female outfits that survived, apparently almost unchanged, from the pre-Roman Iron Age into the Roman period,⁷⁰⁸ in contrast to the Gallic women’s ensemble, which appears to have been the product of adaptation of pre-Roman native women’s dress. The survival of these ensembles is, therefore, of importance to the question of cultural continuity.

Menimane’s ensemble with or without a Roman draping of the cloak dominates in portraits of women in the 1st cent. in the Middle Rhine area with nine instances⁷⁰⁹ as opposed to three instances of purely Roman dress.⁷¹⁰

⁶⁹⁸ See Eckhart 1976, 16 note 23.

⁶⁹⁹ See Birt 1907; Marrou 1964, 24-27; 182-184; 190-196, esp. 191f.; 250; Brein 1973; Eckhart 1976, 15f.; Nerzic 1989, 227.

⁷⁰⁰ I disagree with Freigang that an ambivalent meaning would confuse the viewer and as such cannot have been intended (See Freigang 1997a, 313). An example from colonial Indonesia is perhaps of relevance here: in portraits and popular literature, native men are often depicted with several pens protruding from their clothing, usually their breast pockets. This was a sign of literacy and education and, by association, of a highly-regarded job (Mrázek 1997, 134).

⁷⁰¹ Cic. *Phil.* 5.14: Greeks as “*palliat*” and Romans as “*togati*”. Wilson 1938, 80.

⁷⁰² See Bieber 1959, 411ff.; Marrou 1964, 219; Polaschek 1969, 13ff.; Gabelmann 1979a, 284f.

⁷⁰³ Tert., *De pall.* 6.2.

⁷⁰⁴ Andrikopolou-Strack 1986, 63. See also Freigang 1997a, 313, who agrees that the visual signifiers of education and culture were known to the inhabitants of this region.

⁷⁰⁵ See the section ‘Dress and generation’ below. For depictions of male children as intellectuals on Roman gravestones generally, see Marrou 1964, 197-207.

⁷⁰⁶ Wild 1985, 385.

⁷⁰⁷ See the section ‘Pre-Roman dress’ in chapter 4 above.

⁷⁰⁸ The burial evidence shows seamless continuity of population, burial and clothing culture from late Iron Age to circa AD 70 in the Neuwieder Becken and Lower Moselle areas (Decker 1968, 41ff.; map IV).

⁷⁰⁹ M4, M12-13, M18-22, M25. It is interesting to note that a stone from Xanten dedicated to Silvanus, a Treveran and member of the *ala Vocontiorum*, shows the deceased with his sister, Prima, also in Menimane’s ensemble (*CIL* XIII, 8655; *CSIR* III, 1 no. 22).

⁷¹⁰ M15, M17, M23.

It does not appear at all after this time. In itself, this would perhaps bear more significance were it not for the fact that portraits of women in the Middle Rhine area are also almost completely confined to the 1st cent. Only one portrait of a woman definitely dates to a later period: M7 from the 2nd cent. on which the woman appears in the Gallic ensemble. An undated stone from Mainz (M9) also showing a woman in the Gallic ensemble dates perhaps also to the 2nd cent. When viewed with other evidence for the ensemble, however, the dating on our stones shows itself to be relatively accurate: the small number of portraits from outside the Middle Rhine area showing Menimane's ensemble also date to the 1st and early 2nd cent.⁷¹¹ *Fibula* finds for Menimane's ensemble are mostly pre-Flavian in date, with very few dating to the Flavian period and the 2nd cent.⁷¹² Taken together with our stones, it appears that Menimane's ensemble did indeed cease to be worn by the early 2nd cent. in the Middle Rhine area. The one, probably two, portraits from a later date showing women in the Gallic ensemble suggest that this is the clothing that took its place, just like in the Treveran area.⁷¹³ The absence of Menimane's ensemble on stones from the Treveran area, where we know from *fibula* finds that the ensemble was worn up to the early 2nd cent.⁷¹⁴ is perhaps unsurprising as the vast majority of the stones showing female portraits date from the 2nd cent. onward.⁷¹⁵ In other words, it is likely that Menimane's ensemble was worn by most indigenous women in both the Treveran area and the Middle Rhine area (which was formerly part of the Treveran *civitas*) in the 1st cent., and that the Gallic women's ensemble took its place from the early 2nd cent. onward in both areas.

f) The Gallic ensemble

The main discussion of the Gallic ensemble focussed on the Treveran area, where the Gallic ensemble appears most frequently.⁷¹⁶ A similar discussion for the Middle Rhine area is more difficult. Firstly, in this area, very few stones date to after the 1st cent. AD and the chronology identified in the Treveran area can thus not be followed in the Middle Rhine stones. The few stones that date to the 2nd cent. and beyond show a prevalence of Gallic dress⁷¹⁷ and the situation for *fibula* finds in this area that point to Menimane's ensemble corresponds to that of the Treveran area. As a result, one can perhaps assume a similar pattern in this area, in which case the discussion for the Treveran area would apply to the Middle Rhine area as well.

For those stones from the 1st cent. it is likely that the

wearers of the Gallic ensemble were predominantly of peregrine status. This has been assumed by people who base this on the lack of the toga, such as Andrikopolou-Strack:

Im Rheingebiet ist allerdings bei Verstorbenen, die sich in tunica and paenula darstellen lassen, anzunehmen, dass sie keine römische Bürger sind, denn diese hätten sich – schon um sich gegenüber der einheimischen Bevölkerung abzusetzen und um ihr römisches Bürgerrecht zu betonen – sicherlich in der toga wiedergeben lassen, dem Gewand, das römischen Bürgern vorbehalten war.⁷¹⁸

In contrast to the Treveran area of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, where the indigenous dress prevails but many are likely to have had Roman citizenship, it seems likely that in the case of the Mainz area of the early 1st cent., Andrikopolou-Strack and Boppert are correct, and that these people really are not Roman citizens. There are a number of reasons for this. First, the stones are mostly of very early date; second, it stands to reason that locals can have reached considerable wealth, or have become even wealthier, in a very short space of time due to the sudden presence of a large number of Roman troops. One can only imagine the dramatic effect of the arrival of an estimated 20,000 legionary soldiers, auxiliary troops and other entourage who had to be supplied with food on the relatively small local population.⁷¹⁹ Local farmers switched to cash crops and local entrepreneurs earned well by becoming involved in trade and transport to acquire the goods for the army.⁷²⁰ The groups following the army included artisans manufacturing products with which the local population had hitherto been unfamiliar.

The most lucrative money-making opportunities will have been in trade, procuring supplies for the Roman army. Blussus ran a transport ship – it has been suggested that he transported goods up and down the Rhine for the Roman army.⁷²¹ These kinds of business opportunities do not, however, lead easily to citizenship, in contrast to military or administrative positions. With regard to the latter, the administration will at this stage have been in the hands of the military, as this was still a military zone, not a province. As a result, opportunities for advancement in employing the local elite as magistrates will, at this stage, have been very limited.⁷²²

The wealth of these enterprising locals is expressed in

⁷¹¹ Wild 1968b, 204f. and fig. 24; 1985, 399.

⁷¹² Wild 1968b, 205-207 and fig. 25; 1985, 399 and fig. 40.

⁷¹³ See the discussion above in the section 'The Gallic ensemble' in the Treveran area.

⁷¹⁴ Wild 1968b, 205-207 and fig. 25; 1985, 399 and fig. 40.

⁷¹⁵ Only one dates to the 1st cent. (T22). The only other stone which does not definitely date to the 2nd cent. or later dates to around AD 100 (T23).

⁷¹⁶ See the discussion above in the section 'The Gallic ensemble' in the Treveran area.

⁷¹⁷ M7, M8, M30, M32, M33, M36, M41, M42.

⁷¹⁸ Andrikopolou-Strack 1986, 66. See also Boppert 1991, 92; 1992b, 25.

⁷¹⁹ Schoppa 1963, 2. Cf. Boppert who comes up with approx. 50,000 for the early Roman period (Boppert 2003, 265).

⁷²⁰ Boppert 1991, 91. See also Schlippschuh 1974, 184.

⁷²¹ M12. Blussus' occupation is stated in the inscription: *nauta*. The fact that he (or, in this case, his wife) could afford such a stone suggests he was more than just a boatman and is likely to have been the owner of a ship. For the *annona militaris* see Herz 2000; Pons Pujol 2008.

⁷²² See Boppert 1992b, 21 note 101; Eck 1991, 84.

the size of their grave monuments and is perhaps hinted at in the bulging purse held by some of the men in their portraits. The purse, or *marsupium*, is a common attribute of Mercury, the patron of commerce and trade, and found its way into many grave portraits, especially in Gaul and Germany.⁷²³ Roman burial practice, as demonstrated initially by the military, provided the perfect medium by which these families could display their success, and explains why Roman gravestones were adopted at such an early stage. It also explains why they diminish after the 1st cent.: military activity slowed down considerably in this area in the Flavian period and the area became part of a province, while Mainz was in many ways eclipsed by the already flourishing metropoleis of Trier and Cologne.

Ubian area

a) Chronological patterns

The picture in the Ubian area is similar but more complicated. The results for male depictions follow a similar pattern to those of males in the Treveran area. Roman dress predominates in the 1st cent., while native dress increases and eventually predominates from the second half of the 2nd cent. onwards. Roman dress trails off gradually from the 2nd cent. onwards, but again does not disappear. The trend among women is very different: Roman dress predominates as a whole, except for perhaps the period between AD 50 and 150. The smaller number of stones from this period, however, means that it would be unwise to see this as a proven trend.⁷²⁴

b) Sub-regional geographical patterns

The results from the Ubian area show a complicated geographical pattern. Discounting the female side of Table 16b because it only involves one stone, Table 16 shows a similar pattern in dress behaviour between rural and urban locations, with Roman dress slightly more popular in the rural locations. Table 17 shows a dramatic difference in dress choice on portraits from Cologne and Bonn, with Roman dress the most common in Cologne, and native dress most common in Bonn. This pattern was already observed in the Treveran area, where the highest rate of native dress was also recorded in the area's second city, Arlon, as opposed to in the rural locations, as one might expect. It is also perhaps comparable to the Middle Rhine area in that at the most important military bases in the respective regions – Mainz and Bonn – the rate of Roman dress is much lower than in other parts of the area.

Table 18 shows almost identical dress behaviour between

Cologne and the rest of the Ubian area as a whole for men, but vastly different dress behaviour for women. In Cologne, Roman dress prevails for women while native dress is predominant for women in the rest of the area.

The most striking difference between the geographical distribution of dress choice in the Ubian area and the other two areas is that in the Ubian area, mixed ensembles would appear to be similarly prevalent in both urban and rural locations, as opposed to being a predominantly rural phenomenon.

c) The toga

The toga portraits from the Ubian area show a very different picture from the other two areas: the vast majority are from Cologne,⁷²⁵ while two are from Bonn (U42-43), one from Efferen (U50) and one from Pesch (U51). They are more evenly distributed chronologically than those of the Middle Rhine area, with nine dating to before AD 125, and five after AD 125, although none appear outside Cologne after AD 68. The overall proportion of toga portraits is higher than in the Treveran area, but lower than in the Middle Rhine area.

Also, apart from the well-known Publicius monument from Cologne (U5), none are of the large grave pillar type that was a common type of monument for *togati* in the Treveran and Middle Rhine areas. The toga is obviously not exclusively elite dress. In fact, the Ubian stones contain a great deal more information about their owners than in the other two areas, as most of the inscriptions have survived and family members are often portrayed. The occupations represented on the stones showing the toga from Cologne are as follows: four veterans,⁷²⁶ one trader (U11), one *scolasticus* (U25), one stone merchant (U35) and perhaps one slave dealer (U3). One *togatus* from Bonn was a freedman (U42).

Where the inscription survives, the names are thoroughly Latin⁷²⁷ or Latin with Celtic *cognomina* (U12, U35). Geographical information on some of the, especially veteran, stones indicate extra-Ubian origins, which is unsurprising for retired military personnel. Several wives wear Ubian ensemble,⁷²⁸ although some wear Roman (U1, U5) and mixed Roman-native (U35) dress.

One attribute that is particularly common on the Ubian toga stones is the holding of a scroll by male members of the family.⁷²⁹ These all date to before 68. The symbolism of the scroll in portrait art was discussed above in the section on 'The *pallium*' in the Middle Rhine

⁷²³ See Freigang 1997a, 310 with examples and Hupe 1997.

⁷²⁴ Consequently, Willer's recent claim that "Darstellungen der Verstorbenen in einheimischer Tracht, wie sie noch im 1. Jahrhundert an Grabstelen und -bauten der Rheinzone häufiger begegnen, lassen sich an den erhaltenen Grabbauten des Untersuchungszeitraums [2nd/3rd cent. AD] nicht nachweisen" is simply incorrect (Willer 2005, 70).

⁷²⁵ U1, U3-5, U9-12, U25, U31, U35.

⁷²⁶ U1, U5, U9-10.

⁷²⁷ U1, U3, U5, U9-10, U25, U42, U51.

⁷²⁸ U9-10, U12, U51.

⁷²⁹ U5, U42-43, U51.

area. Although it is possible that the scroll's popularity on portraits in the Ubian area was due to a copycat effect, this does not necessarily mean it lost its original meaning along the way, and the basic meaning of the scroll as a sign of education must certainly apply here too.⁷³⁰

What is clear is that the *togati* of the Ubian area were mostly urban dwellers of moderate wealth with a variety of jobs. There is no evidence of large-scale landownership among them, nor a very high level of wealth (U5 excepted). It would seem that the wearing of the toga was an urban phenomenon and not necessarily reserved for the upper elite, as was the case in the Treveran area. As such, its use cannot be explained in the same way. The nature of the distribution of the toga in the Ubian area is likely to be linked to the character and function of Cologne as a city, and the self image of its inhabitants within the Roman Empire.

Cologne was the only city in our area bestowed with *colonia* status, and that already under Claudius. It was the largest and most important commercial centre in the north-west region, the seat of the provincial governor and there are likely to have been many immigrants and military men, with many veterans settling in and around the city. The Ubii proved to be gifted and successful traders with commercial links as far as Britain and the Danube provinces.⁷³¹ Cologne was the natural centre of commercial activity as it was located on the Rhine and at the hub of major roadways. The frontier region was also well placed to benefit from trade with Free Germany and from collecting trade tariffs. Cologne itself produced great quantities of pottery and glasswares, as well as other common Roman commodities. Excavations at Cologne have unearthed a large Rhine quay with extensive warehouses and market installations.⁷³² Beside the usual staple goods, the surrounding villa estates also cultivated more expensive products such as wine for export to the capital city and beyond. As such the Ubian area, and especially Cologne, was home to people with a large variety of occupations, from the functionaries of the local and provincial administration to merchants, army personnel, artisans and landowners and their workers. Estimations as to the size of the population of Cologne in Roman times range from 30,000 to 120,000.⁷³³

Also perhaps contributory to a different cultural outlook in Cologne is the fact that, from the earliest direct dealings with the Roman conquerors during the Gallic War, the Ubii showed themselves to be unequivocal friends of Rome, a fact to which they owed their new territory on the left bank of the Rhine and their centrality in the political and economic set-up of the north-western empire. It is likely that the inhabitants of Cologne were well

aware of the prominent status of their city and had every reason to possess a positive attitude toward the culture of the people who had made this possible. Only during the Batavian Revolt did the dichotomy between native past and Roman present cause difficulties for the Ubii. This dilemma, as vividly narrated by Tacitus, and already mentioned above, is worth rendering in Tacitus' own words:

Elated with their success, Civilis and Classicus doubted whether they should not give up the Colonia Agrippinensis to be plundered by their troops. ... But the tribes beyond the Rhine disliked the place [Cologne] for its wealth and increasing power, and held that the only possible way of putting an end to war would be either to make it an open city for all Germans, or to destroy it and so disperse the Ubii. Upon this the Tencteri, a tribe separated by the Rhine from the Colony [Cologne], sent envoys with orders to make known their instructions to the Senate of the Agrippinenses. These orders the boldest spirit among the ambassadors thus expounded: 'For your return into the unity of the German nation and name we give thanks to the gods whom we worship in common ... and we congratulate you that at length you will live as free men among the free. ... But that our friendship and union may be established for ever, we require of you to strip your city of its walls, which are the bulwarks of slavery. Even savage animals, if you keep them in confinement, forget their natural courage. We require of you to massacre all Romans within your territory; liberty and a dominant race cannot well exist together. ... Resume the manners and customs of your country, renouncing the pleasures, through which, rather than through their arms, the Romans secure their power against subject nations. A pure and untainted race, forgetting your past bondage, you will be the equals of all, or will even rule over others.' The inhabitants of the Colony took time for deliberation, and, as dread of the future would not allow them to accept the offered terms, while their actual condition forbade an open and contemptuous rejection, they replied to the following effect: 'The very first chance of freedom that presented itself we seized with more eagerness than caution, that we might unite ourselves with you and the other Germans, our kinsmen by blood. With respect to our fortifications, as at this very moment the Roman armies are assembling, it is safer for us to strengthen than to destroy them. All strangers from Italy or the provinces, that may have been in our territory, have either perished in the war, or have fled to their own homes. As for those who in former days settled here, and have been united to us by marriage, and as for their offspring, this is their native land. We cannot think you so unjust as to wish that we should slay our parents, our brothers,

⁷³⁰ See also Pflug 1989, 94 note 566.

⁷³¹ See for example the many Agrippinensians named in votive inscriptions to Nehalennia from Colijnsplaat, erected to ensure safe passage of goods across the Channel (See Stuart/Bogaers 1971; 2001), or the *collegium Agrippinenses Transalpini* in Budapest (*CIL* III 10548).

⁷³² Doppelfeld/Biegel/Bracker 1975, 729.

⁷³³ For a summary of these estimates see Doppelfeld/Biegel/Bracker 1975, 736.

and our children.⁷³⁴

Even allowing for substantial theatrical embellishment by Tacitus, this passage illustrates the extent of integration possible in a frontier town in the 1st cent. AD. It confirms archaeological evidence that Cologne was already by this time a thriving Roman-style city with a fortified wall and that the Ubian population was well integrated with the immigrants from elsewhere in the Empire, army personnel, merchants and the like, who had settled in the area in the earliest period of Roman rule. It is, in fact, virtually impossible to decipher in epigraphic evidence between Ubii and other immigrants as both proclaimed themselves as *cives Agrippinenses* from AD 50 onwards, and many Ubii adopted Latin names.⁷³⁵

Before Cologne was made a *colonia*, it still bore the tribal name of the majority ethnic group of the area, *oppidum Ubiorum/ara Ubiorum*. Yet with the founding of the *colonia*, this tribal appellation disappeared. It is, of itself, interesting that while, for instance, the Treveran area and its population retained their name after Roman conquest, it is with the name bestowed on their main settlement by the *Romans* in AD 50, rather than their former name, that the population of the Ubian area identified themselves. One can only speculate as to why this occurred. Perhaps the Ubii were so proud of the new status of the city and grateful to those who had bestowed it that they preferred to identify themselves with the city and its new status. It is possible that the sheer scale of immigration to the area, coupled with a consciousness of increasing ethnic mixing that Tacitus describes, rendered the old tribal name inappropriate. Either way, the changing of a name by an individual or group is never undertaken lightly and must signify a shift in identity and a new beginning in one way or another. It seems unlikely to be sheer coincidence that the Ubii both adopted a Roman name for themselves in AD 50 and were the Romans' strongest allies in the region. The generally Rome-friendly and well-integrated character of Ubian, and especially Cologne, society is reflected in the high frequency, across the social spectrum, of Roman dress in the gravestones.

d) The Gallic ensemble

In the Ubian area, the male Gallic ensemble predominates from roughly the mid-2nd cent. onwards, possibly for the reasons discussed above, but women who do not wear Roman dress in this area show a preference for the Ubian ensemble as opposed to the female Gallic ensemble. This phenomenon shows different cultural processes at work in the Ubian area to those discussed above and relates more closely to the meaning of the Ubian ensemble. As a consequence, this is looked at in more detail in the next section.

e) Ubian women's dress

In light of the Ubian fondness for Roman clothes, it is intriguing that Ubian women's dress is the only pre-Roman Iron-Age female dress in our region that continues to be worn, practically unchanged, throughout the Roman period. There are eight portraits in the Ubian area showing women in Ubian dress⁷³⁶ and two showing women in mixed Roman and Ubian dress (U39, U51). Like the gravestones in this area generally, most of these are from Cologne and Bonn with one (U51) from Pesch. They date from the mid 1st through to the late 3rd centuries with fairly constant chronological distribution. In this area, unlike Menimane's ensemble, the Ubian ensemble is worn *at the same time* as the Gallic women's ensemble, which appears from the late 1st/early 2nd cent. until the second half of the 3rd cent., again relatively evenly spaced over time.⁷³⁷ Sometimes the two ensembles are even worn by women in the same family (e.g. U45). In light of this distribution, it appears that the Ubian women's ensemble was not, like Menimane's ensemble, generally replaced by the Gallic ensemble. In fact, it is more common in portraits than the Gallic ensemble.⁷³⁸ It also underwent very little change over the three centuries it appears on our stones.

The differing fates of Menimane's ensemble and the Ubian women's ensemble are intriguing. The fact that Menimane's ensemble gradually disappeared at the end of the 1st cent. is perhaps less mysterious. Andrikopolou-Strack put it down to "fortschreitende Romanisierung",⁷³⁹ but considering it was probably replaced by the Gallic ensemble, its disappearance should be viewed in the context of what was said about the distinct character of the Gallic ensemble above, i.e. that it was a revised native 'link costume' that expressed both 'progress' and retention of native identity.⁷⁴⁰ In other words, the question should not be "why did Menimane's ensemble disappear?" but "why did the Ubian ensemble survive for so long?"

To understand this, we must take a look at the unique history of the Ubii. Elements of Ubian culture with its distinct clothing, religion and names are confined to the

⁷³⁴ Tac., *Hist.* 4.63-65, Translation A.J. Church/W.J. Brodribb, New York 1873.

⁷³⁵ E.g. *CIL* XIII 8091; 8233; 8283. Doppelfeld/Biegel/Bracker 1975, 733.

⁷³⁶ U6, U9-10, U12, U33-34, U44-45.

⁷³⁷ U9, U28, U32, U45, U49. Cf. Wild 1985, 402f. who also takes the depictions of the Matron deities into account in his distribution of the ensemble and concludes that the majority fall into the AD 150-250 time bracket.

⁷³⁸ Unfortunately, unlike Menimane's ensemble, it has not been possible to trace the Ubian ensemble clearly in the archaeological evidence. *Fibula* finds show a gradual decline in the 1st cent. in the use of brooches to hold clothing together coupled with an increased use of them as decorative objects. By the beginning of the 3rd cent., however, overall numbers of *fibulae* are declining rapidly and are most common in military contexts. The silver hoard find from Bonn (Böhme-Schönberger 1997, 32, fig. 19) included the only known extant disc pendant.

⁷³⁹ Andrikopolou-Strack 1986, 78.

⁷⁴⁰ See the discussion on 'The Gallic ensemble' in the Treveran area above.

territory, and the periphery of the territory, that was assigned to the Ubii by Agrippa. The fact that the Ubii were moved as a group from Free Germany to the left bank of the Rhine is significant. It is conceivable that the cultural behaviour of the Ubii can be seen in the context of peoples who are uprooted and transplanted in a cohesive group to an area foreign to them. The disc pendant that appears in both Menimane's and the Ubian women's ensemble (B801) is a visual sign of the original close proximity of the Ubii to the people of the Middle Rhine area: before they were relocated by Agrippa, the Ubii inhabited the area directly across the Rhine from Blussus and Menimane's people.

Transplanted groups often display a strong active retention of cultural traditions and conservatism due to the insecurity generated by the displacement. Human history abounds in examples of this phenomenon: German migrants to Australia in the mid 1800s settled in enclaves and managed to retain the language and specific religious ceremonies of mid-19th cent. Prussia until the Second World War. Indeed, many migrant communities who settled in foreign countries in large groups, such as the Turks in Germany, or indeed most other large groups of ethnic minorities, display a similar tenacity with regard to their original culture, often staying like a moment frozen in time while the culture of the original country continued to develop without them. Dar has suggested the clothing of many Roma and Sinti communities of central Europe may have originated in Rajasthan, owing to striking resemblances in dress between these communities. If Dar is correct, the dress demonstrates an astonishing level of continuity over roughly five centuries.⁷⁴¹ It would appear that displacement in coherent groups causes a strong will to retain a portable element of the original culture, an element of continuity in the face of discontinuity. The elements that are retained, however, do not develop or change: the rigidity with which they are used prevents them from changing, and they end up as static relics of the past.

The history of the Ubii, then, provides the perfect preconditions for such sustained cultural continuity: not only did they migrate as a large, relatively intact group, but they moved to an area which had essentially been depopulated several decades before when Caesar annihilated the region's original inhabitants, the Eburones. Just like the reverence for the Matron deities and their local tribal sobriquets, the Ubian women's ensemble reflects strong continuity in the face of upheaval.

It is also significant that this phenomenon is focused very strongly on women. It would appear that in Ubian society, many women acted as 'guardians of ethnicity'.⁷⁴² We may see a link with the fact that, like many Celtic areas, *mother* goddesses were the main native deities of the region, and that these were never syncretised and were not only depicted in full native dress, but also retained their autochthonous bynames and continued to play a

central role in Ubian religious life until the late Roman period. But one should not lose sight of the larger picture: as we saw in the previous sections, the Ubian area, and Cologne in particular, displays a high frequency of Roman dress for men in a wide variety of social groups, and for women in general as well. As such, the wearing of Ubian dress by women should not be regarded as generally binding; in fact, in our distribution, it is quite limited. What made the women who did wear Ubian dress different from those who did not is difficult to determine. Perhaps some families were more anxious to maintain an element of cultural continuity. The conspicuous link between the clothing of Ubian mortal women and their chief deities indicates that perhaps the women who wore Ubian dress held special links to the Matron cult. It is, however, also possible that both the wearing of the ensemble and involvement in the Matron cult were two parts of the same objective: to preserve and continue an idea of Ubian identity.

It is likely that the unique circumstances of the Ubians' resettlement and invariably amicable relations with Rome laid the cornerstone for the area's subsequent character as *both* one of the most well-integrated regions of the north-western Empire *and* a region in which some local people had the confidence to retain a strong and stable local identity.

While Cologne flourished as a commercial and cultural centre, the many veterans will have contributed to ongoing social integration between the civilian and the military populations. The constant military presence together with the intense commercial activity meant that the Ubian area experienced a great deal of coming and going of people from other parts of the Empire and served to link it more firmly to the Roman core than was the case with the Treveran area, whose external ties were almost entirely trade-related. Much more than at Mainz, however, the civilian population appears to have thrived under these conditions and managed to retain a strong local identity that does not appear to have been at odds with integration into the Roman system. Indeed, the two appear to have been inseparable.

Dress and occupation

The following section presents a survey and discussion of the trends in clothing behaviour according to occupation across the entire region and over the whole time period under scrutiny in this study. Information as to the occupation or status of those depicted is gleaned from both explicit mention in the inscription and from the everyday life scenes on the sides of the stones. On monuments displaying the paying of rent in the form of money or produce to a man, usually seated at a desk, the commissioner of the stone is understood to be a landlord. Other stones, such as the Igel pillar (T62) which show the inspection, packaging and transportation of goods, are interpreted as belonging to mer-

⁷⁴¹ Dar 1969, 31.

⁷⁴² See the separate section on 'Dress and gender' below.

chants. Sometimes both of the latter types of scenes are displayed on the same monument, suggesting those to whom the stone was dedicated were involved in both trade and land ownership. Artisans, on the other hand, often show their occupation in the portrait by holding in their hands the tools of their trade. Unfortunately, only roughly one tenth of the portrait stones in our catalogue indicate the occupation or social status of the deceased. As such, the following results and comparisons can only speak for those depicted.

a) Veterans

A number of the civilian gravestones in the Rhine-Moselle region belong to former soldiers. Although not an occupation *per se*, veteran status seems to have been the most important defining factor for many of the men in our region who possessed it. The veterans that appear on our stones do not give any indication of their occupation now that they have left the army.⁷⁴³ In fact, although most of them appear to have used their retirement money to set up businesses in their town of choice, it is their former occupation with which they choose to identify themselves by giving their status as *veteranus* followed by their former army unit name and number in the section of the inscription which would usually mention occupation. In some cases, this may be because the veteran in question had only just left the army but most of the veterans depicted will surely have died at a relatively old age. As a result, veteran status is treated as an 'occupation' in this study, concerned, as it is, less with the economic than with the cultural side of people's professions.

The apparent importance of veteran status is all the more interesting in view of the choice of clothing on the portraits: none of them chose to be portrayed in military attire.⁷⁴⁴ Almost all men identified as veterans in their inscriptions in our region wear civilian Roman dress in their portraits, most commonly the *tunica* and toga (U1, U5, U9, U10). All of these are legionary veterans and the stones date from the early 1st to the early 2nd centuries. A further stone from Trier shows a man in a toga above what seems to be a horse and rider scene typical of military gravestones, suggesting he, too, was a veteran (T2). One Mainz stone from the 3rd quarter of the 1st cent. shows a veteran of the *cohors II Raetorum* wearing a *tunica* and *pallium* (M14). This is unusual and may mean he did not, for some reason, acquire Roman citizenship. Kronmayer has suggested this may be because he was a native from the settlement at Weisenau which, that author believes, may have negatively affected his chance at climbing socially.⁷⁴⁵ Only one veteran (U14), a former legionary, chose to be depicted in the Gallic tunic and cape. This is also the latest veteran portrait in our region.

Moreover, in the cases where they too are depicted on the portraits, the members of the veteran's family usually also wear Roman dress, the wives and daughters the *tunica* and *palla*, the sons the *tunica* and toga (U1, U5). On a veteran stone from Cologne, the clothing of the veteran himself is unidentifiable but his wife wears a *tunica* and *palla* (U26). Two exceptions from Cologne (U9, U10) that date to the late 1st or early 2nd cent. show the veterans reclining in the typical meal scene manner wearing the *tunica* and toga, but their wives wear the Ubian ensemble and are depicted in the manner of the local Matron deities: seated and holding a bowl of fruit in their lap (see figs 4 and 5). In these two latter cases, it would appear that the veterans had married local Ubian women, although all bear Latin names.

Most of the stones showing veterans come from the Ubian area. This is not surprising as military presence in the Treveran area was minimal and scholars have identified a general reluctance on the part of veterans to settle in the Middle Rhine area.⁷⁴⁶ The incidence of Roman dress on portraits is generally higher in the Ubian area than in the other two areas. Nonetheless, the preference for Roman dress among the veterans and their families is significant and contrasts sharply with the findings for others groups discussed below. The wearing of the *tunica* and toga presented Roman citizenship status to the viewer and this may have been especially important to veterans who had acquired citizenship as a result of their military service. It is also likely that many of these veterans, and perhaps also their families, were not natives of our region and as such had little reason to be depicted in, for example, Gallic dress. In any case, apart from the stone from Trier (T2), all the names mentioned in the veteran's inscriptions are Latin, giving no indication of local origin. A non-local origin for the veterans is all the more likely given that most of the stones date from the 1st or very early 2nd centuries, when the Roman army was at its most mobile. In this it is perhaps significant that the only veteran portrait showing Gallic dress (U14) is also the only one from a later period, dating to the mid or late 2nd cent.

The portrayal of veterans and their families in Roman dress sets them slightly apart from the other groups in society where dress behaviour on portraits was more mixed. Funerary monuments from the north-west generally show veterans and their families to have possessed an above-average level of wealth.⁷⁴⁷ Many of the veterans depicted on our portraits will have left army service long before they died and will have become members of the civilian population in cities like Cologne. It is, however, likely that their military past gave them a special status and legal privileges in the places they settled and, as their inscriptions suggest,

⁷⁴³ Although a *negotiator* from Cologne (U11) may be a veteran as he is depicted in the type of meal scene common among soldiers in the Rhine zone (see the section 'Portraits vs. everyday life' in chapter 3 above).

⁷⁴⁴ See also the comments in Andrikopolou-Strack 1986, 55.

⁷⁴⁵ Kronmayer 1983, 50.

⁷⁴⁶ See Hope 2001, 38 note 11 and the section 'The toga' in the Middle Rhine area above.

⁷⁴⁷ Kronmayer 1983, 60.

held special significance for their personal identity and that of their families long after military service had ended.⁷⁴⁸ This may be the reason why most of them chose to be portrayed in the toga.

b) Merchants and landlords

The preferred portrait attire of the merchants in our region was the Gallic tunic and cape.⁷⁴⁹ Only three chose to wear the toga,⁷⁵⁰ whereby the men on the Igel pillar (T62) who wear the toga nevertheless wear the long-sleeved Gallic tunic underneath. The attire of the other family members is mixed: on T47, the merchant's wife wears a *tunica* and *stola*. On the roughly contemporary T67, however, the wives wear Gallic tunics and one wears a rectangular cloak while the other wears a *palla*. On a later sarcophagus for a stone merchant and his family (U35), the clothing is also mixed: the two women wear the *palla* but one also wears a Gallic bonnet, a man wears a toga, but a younger boy wears the Gallic tunic.

The picture is similar for the portraits of landlords and their families; and, indeed, some of those depicted appear to have both owned land and been involved in trade.⁷⁵¹ The most popular attire, again, is the Gallic tunic and cape,⁷⁵² while the toga is only worn on two stones, T56 and T62, and in the latter case, as mentioned above, with the Gallic tunic as opposed to the *tunica*. Almost all the wives wear the Gallic tunic with or without the rectangular cloak (T16, T35, T38), save for one (T30) who wears the Gallic tunic with the *palla* and the bonnet. Only the wife of the landowner on T56 wears the full Roman ensemble of *tunica*, *stola* and *palla*. Other relatives wear the Gallic tunic and cape (T16, T38) and the Gallic tunic, rectangular cloak and bonnet (T38). All the stones in this category are from the Treveran area and date generally from the end of the 2nd to the mid 3rd cent. One is a sarcophagus (T16) dating to the late 3rd or early 4th cent.

c) Artisans and other occupation groups

The clothing worn by artisans in our area presents a clearer picture: all of them appear in Gallic dress on their portraits⁷⁵³ as do, when depicted, their wives (T71, T93).

⁷⁴⁸ Cf. colonial administrators in British India: in the beginning, European visitors to India had often chosen to wear Indian dress; but as the British consolidated their dominance, this was considered unacceptable and the British actively discouraged this manifestation of 'going native'. Tarlo has explained this sentiment, saying "[m]aintenance of differences through dress and other social customs was important both for British self-esteem and as a means of demonstrating British superiority to an Indian audience" (Tarlo 1996, 36).

⁷⁴⁹ T33, T62 man on left, T67, M41, U35, U55.

⁷⁵⁰ T47, T62 two men on right, U11. This does not include the man wearing a *tunica* and toga on the portrait U3, where it is unclear whether *Mango* is his cognomen or his occupation, or indeed both.

⁷⁵¹ E.g. T62.

⁷⁵² T16, T30, T35, T38, T62 man on left.

⁷⁵³ T71, T93, U20, U41. Sulla's (U41) stated occupation – *argentarius* – is to be interpreted as 'silversmith' rather than 'banker' or 'auctioneer' (see Schlippschuh 1974, 78ff.) as he was almost certainly depicted behind an anvil with tools in his hands.

These people are most likely of local origin, and it is interesting that Q. Vetinius Verus (U20), although apparently a Roman citizen, also wears the Gallic ensemble. It would appear, at least from these stones, that even if one possessed citizenship, the normal dress for artisans in their portraits was the Gallic ensemble.

Other occupations represented on our stones only appear individually. Blussus, the *nauta* from Mainz (M12) wears the Gallic ensemble, his wife Menimane the native ensemble named after her. A *doctor gladiatorum* from Cologne (U16) wears a Gallic cape, a clerk from Bollendorf (T99) a Gallic tunic, while a young *viator* from Mainz (M1) wears the *tunica*, scarf and *sagum* and a *scolasticus* from Cologne (U25) the *tunica* and toga. The wife of the latter wears a *tunica* and *palla*, as she does the *nutrix* from Cologne (U32),⁷⁵⁴ while the wife of a *nummularius* from Cologne (U19) wears the *tunica*, *stola* and *palla*.

In summary, then, the only occupation or status group in our region with a very high frequency of Roman dress in portraits are the veterans. The possible reasons for this were listed above. But Roman dress is not limited to veterans: a number of wealthy merchants and landlords and their families also wear Roman dress, while others wear Gallic dress. The artisans wear Gallic dress, even though at least one of them was a Roman citizen and he (or, in this case, perhaps his mother) could have chosen a toga for his portrait. This choice may reflect a greater importance of class or regional identity for this person than legal status or 'Romanness'. It is, at the very least, a strong indicator that, at least at this late stage (late 2nd/early 3rd cent.), some provincials did not regard their legal status as worthy of depicting in dress on their gravestones, or did not associate it with clothing.

d) Work dress vs portraits

The depiction of everyday working life, especially in the Treveran area, is something of an idiosyncrasy of our region: although some everyday life scenes survive from other parts of the empire, especially other parts of Gaul, and craftsmen in Italy are known to have displayed considerable pride in their occupations in the imperial period, wealthy merchants and owners of large manufacturing businesses did not, in contrast to the small-scale craftsmen, depict themselves at work or refer to their jobs on monuments in Italy. They looked to fulfil the aristocratic ideal of a leisurely life and referred only to honours and magistracies.⁷⁵⁵ That even the elite in our region are anxious to portray their working lives and the source of their wealth on their gravestones is significant in itself, and shows a pride, across class boundaries, in hard work and successful commercial enterprise.

⁷⁵⁴ I have argued in the catalogue that the portrait is of Severina herself and not her young charge.

⁷⁵⁵ See Zimmer 1982, 68; 71.

It is all the more interesting, therefore, that, apart from one example in which the *exomis* (a special garment for hard labour) was worn (T62), *all* people shown at work in occupational scenes on *all* of our stones wear the Gallic tunic with or without the Gallic cape. This applies to domestic slaves,⁷⁵⁶ farm labourers,⁷⁵⁷ artisans,⁷⁵⁸ clerks,⁷⁵⁹ shopworkers,⁷⁶⁰ dockmen,⁷⁶¹ boatmen,⁷⁶² shepherds,⁷⁶³ teachers,⁷⁶⁴ tenant farmers⁷⁶⁵ and other workers.⁷⁶⁶ Slaves, farm workers and other hard labourers often wore the Gallic tunic girt.⁷⁶⁷ Most of these scenes are fragments of larger stones for which the portrait is missing. However, some of these appear with the portraits, so that a comparison between the clothing of the same people in portraits and work scenes can be made, and the following conclusion reached: the Gallic tunic was also worn by the people the stone was dedicated to when depicted at work (such as supervising transactions or collecting rent from tenants), no matter whether they were depicted on their portraits in Roman⁷⁶⁸ or Gallic dress⁷⁶⁹ or a mixture of both.⁷⁷⁰ It would appear that the Gallic tunic, with or without the Gallic cape, was the ensemble worn generally by people of all classes in their everyday working lives. As such, those who wear Roman garments on their portraits have chosen special clothing not worn on a day to day basis. This cannot necessarily be applied to the veterans and their families, for whom we have no surviving scenes which would indicate whether or not they wore Roman garb in everyday life. The toga may have been worn in specific circumstances not depicted on our stones, such as conducting business meetings, travelling abroad on business or participating in local government events and religious ceremonies. In the family business or at home, however, as the everyday life scenes show, the toga was discarded for the Gallic ensemble.

As already touched on above in the discussion of the toga in the Treveran area, the practice of wearing different dress for different occasions was common amongst the native populations of the European colonies. European dress was deemed appropriate for activities in the public or work sphere that involved contact with the colonial authorities, but uncomfortable and unsuitable for home life and private occasions. In fact, it was customary in British India to change out of Western clothes before

crossing the threshold into the family home.⁷⁷¹

The considerations that led to the alternation of clothes in these more recent examples are also conceivable in the Roman north-west. The toga is likely, as in many parts of the empire including Italy, to have been special dress for specific occasions and spheres of life, while the Gallic ensemble was 'normal' everyday dress, and a great deal more suited to the cold climate of the region.

Dress and gender

The issue of cultural identity and its expression in dress is differentiated not only between groups in society or single families, but also between individuals within families. The patterns observed show that there were two main factors involved here: gender and age. As a result, this and the next section will discuss dress behaviour in the region from these two angles

A substantial number of our portraits show differences in clothing worn by male and female family members. Perhaps unexpectedly, some portraits show women in Roman dress and men in native dress while others show the opposite. When we look more closely at the geographical and temporal context, however, the picture becomes clearer: all of these stones from the Treveran area depict women in Roman clothing and their husbands, and sometimes sons, in the Gallic ensemble.⁷⁷² These stones date from the mid 1st cent. (T3) to the 3rd cent. (T69). Almost all the stones in this category from the Middle Rhine and Ubian areas, on the other hand, show *men* in Roman dress and *women* in native dress with or without some Roman elements. All of these stones date to the 1st or early 2nd cent. except U33 (3rd cent.).⁷⁷³

We must separate the two main geographical phenomena and look at them separately. Let us turn first to the common pattern in the Ubian and Middle Rhine areas, where women wear native dress while their husbands and sons wear Roman dress. A tendency to 'conservatism' in female dress is a commonplace in many societies in a state of cultural flux, both ancient and modern. One need only step onto the street and observe the clothing of some ethnic minorities in Britain to see that it is the women who generally retain more elements of

⁷⁵⁶ T15, T60, T62, T127, T129, T131, T142, T174, U32.

⁷⁵⁷ T16, T30, T38, T110, T112, T157, T165, T167, T187, M36.

⁷⁵⁸ T71, T112, T115, T125-126, T132.

⁷⁵⁹ T62, T67, T102-103, T118, T120, T129, T145, T158, T161, T163, T184-185.

⁷⁶⁰ T62, T160, T172, T175, T182, U11.

⁷⁶¹ T47, T62, M36.

⁷⁶² T104, T149-150, T178, U56.

⁷⁶³ T106, U58.

⁷⁶⁴ T129.

⁷⁶⁵ T16, T62, T117, T145, T147.

⁷⁶⁶ T30, T33, T35, T56, T108.

⁷⁶⁷ T15, T30, T38, T62, T104, T115, T126, T131, T142, T157, T165, T187, M36, U32.

⁷⁶⁸ T47, T56.

⁷⁶⁹ T15-16, T30, T33, T35, T60, T71.

⁷⁷⁰ T62, T67.

⁷⁷¹ Dar 1969, 78; Ramanujan 1984, 32; Tarlo 1996, 52-56. For the same practice in Indonesia see Gelman Taylor 1997, 101. See also Goethert 2002, 95 for 'public' and 'private' clothing among the Treverans.

⁷⁷² T3, T26, T31, T45, T63, T67, T69.

⁷⁷³ M9, M18, M20-22, U9-10, U33, U51. Of the two exceptions to the pattern in this area, one (M13) shows both the man and the woman in native dress (although the woman's cloak is a *palla* or cloak draped in a Roman way like her contemporaries). The second exception (U35) is a 3rd-cent. sarcophagus, and the dress behaviour is very mixed: although in the main portrait (a stone merchant and his wife), the man wears a Gallic cape and his wife a *palla*, one male family member wears a toga while another female member wears a Ubian bonnet.

traditional dress while their husbands are more likely to dress in Western garments. But *why* is this so? Women's retention of traditional dress has often been explained, both in anthropological and archaeological literature, as a manifestation of a conservative attitude held by the women themselves;⁷⁷⁴ but in societies where ultimate authority is held by the men of the household, such a view may be missing the point.

Thorstein Veblen was the first to articulate the idea of women as 'display cases' for their husbands' wealth, cultural outlook and values.⁷⁷⁵ The concept can be applied to many societies, both past and present. But the concrete reasons for it are varied. In Herero society in southern Africa, women's dress (which, incidentally, was adapted from 19th cent. European dress) is very cumbersome, hot and difficult to put on, but the men expect them to wear it. As such, in that society dress serves as a symbol of the power husbands have over their wives.⁷⁷⁶ Often the issue of power or control is articulated in the process of buying and making clothes. Herero women have to ask their husbands for the money for the fabric to make their dresses, and, as Tarlo has shown for rural north-west India, men are often the givers of clothes and their own prestige is shown in the clothing of their women.⁷⁷⁷

But clothes are more than just an expression of wealth or prestige. Especially in the case of women, they are closely associated with ideals of feminine beauty or modesty and the role of women in society. Herero dress is designed to make women look fatter, which is considered desirable. Western dress is rejected as it is seen to be unflattering and plain. Also, the bulkiness and heaviness of the dress corresponds to the way Herero women are expected to act: with slow movements, grace, deportment and self-control.⁷⁷⁸

In Tarlo's study of rural dress in India, on the other hand, female decency was the most significant factor:

Those women whose husbands adopted European dress rarely followed suit by adopting European women's styles, for these contravened ideas of female modesty and respect too grossly.⁷⁷⁹

Western dress did not allow for the expression of the virtues expected of females in a village environment. Women were expected to show *sharum* by veiling their heads and faces. One cannot do this with Western dress so the adoption of it would symbolise an abandonment of these virtues. As one village woman interviewed by

Tarlo said, "[i]f you change your clothes, you change your nature."⁷⁸⁰ Again, the men of the family were instrumental in shielding their women from the tainting influences of the West. Moreover, it was considered presumptuous for illiterate village women to adopt Western dress because it symbolised worldliness and education, both of which were unseemly aspirations, as they would compromise the domestic role of women in that society.⁷⁸¹

For these reasons, many women in Tarlo's study devised a compromise in that they used European fabrics for their Indian garments or added Western accessories to their wardrobe such as high-heeled shoes and jackets.⁷⁸² The latter of these compromises was practiced by women in our region in the Roman period as well. This is how we should read the draping of the cloak in a Roman way in combination with otherwise native dress by women in our region, especially in the Middle Rhine area. This will be discussed in more detail in the final section of this chapter. Unfortunately, we are unlikely ever to know whether the first compromise, that of using imported fabric for native garments, was applied by women in the Rhine-Moselle region, as few textile remnants have survived and the funerary depictions, devoid, as they almost always are, of their original paintwork, give very little indication of the type and colour of fabric used.

A third symbolic property of female dress observed in many societies is perhaps the most relevant to our overall question: the idea of women as 'guardians of ethnicity'. As Nadig has shown for the Otomi community in Mexico, and James for the Sotho of southern Africa, in situations where the men of the society adopt Western dress, the wearing of traditional dress by the women represents a crucial continuity of tradition and serves as an important means of cultural reproduction.⁷⁸³ By these means, societies can have a foot in the wider modern world without fully abandoning their original culture. Often this is closely related to the respective roles of men and women in society and the divide between the public and the private sphere. As such, these must be looked at in greater detail.

The Sotho men of James' study, like many men in rural areas of Africa and Asia, had to travel away from home, usually to the closest urban centre, for work, while the women stayed at home. Due to the nature of their work and their increased contact with Westernised culture, these men felt compelled to adopt Western dress.⁷⁸⁴ But even within communities in which people did not have to travel away from home, Western dress was very often associated with public life, and traditional dress with private. The men in Schoss' study of Malindi in Kenya were under cultural pressure to ap-

⁷⁷⁴ E.g. Fabri 1960, 24; Tarlo 1996, 320; Wild 1985, 406: "The great majority of women in the north-west provinces wore a Gallic costume which is quite unambiguous. One may suspect (to put it no more strongly) that even when a husband proudly wore his *toga* as a badge of citizenship, his wife clung to her traditional fashions".

⁷⁷⁵ T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, 1899. In this bibliography: reprint Veblen 1953, esp. 87ff.

⁷⁷⁶ Durham 1999, 395ff.; Klopfer 1987; Kuper 1973, 352.

⁷⁷⁷ Tarlo 1996, 183.

⁷⁷⁸ Durham 1999, 393.

⁷⁷⁹ Tarlo 1996, 46.

⁷⁸⁰ Tarlo 1996, 257.

⁷⁸¹ Tarlo 1996, 160-166; 265; 320.

⁷⁸² Tarlo 1996, 46.

⁷⁸³ Nadig 1986; James 1996.

⁷⁸⁴ See James 1996 and Eicher/Sumberg 1995, 302.

pear in Western dress in their public, working lives due to their contact with Westerners.⁷⁸⁵ The Herero women of Durham's study often only abandoned their traditional dress if they left their domestic roles to go and work. Interestingly, if that work, although outside the family home, nonetheless involved domestic duties, such as was the case with laundresses, seamstresses and housemaids, they *continued to wear their traditional dress* in that occupation.⁷⁸⁶

For the people of colonial Java, retention of national identity, ideals of female and male roles and an embracing of a new, modern future were also combined in gendered dress behaviour:

[W]omen are the keepers of the national essence, whilst men forge new paths into the nation's future. In the suit, the Indonesian men declare themselves to be the heirs of the Dutch in their role as rulers, not as citizens. The female body is portrayed as rejecting the West and its historical evolution towards sharing public space and personal freedoms with women.⁷⁸⁷

We may assume a similar gendered division of public and private in our region of the Roman Empire. Especially in the Ubian and Middle Rhine areas, where there was a far greater concentration of immigrants and those who we may see as representatives of Roman administration (soldiers, officials and their respective entourages), some of these will be depicted on our stones, and the public lives of some local men may have involved a great deal of contact with such people, and, in turn, may have affected the way those men dressed, either by the mere fact of cultural contact or by an expectation of a certain type of dress on specific occasions or in certain spheres of life.

The men on U9 and U10 were veterans, and may well have been immigrants themselves, especially considering the relatively early date of the stones. But their wives wear Ubian dress, indicating that the men had married local women, even if they were not 'locals' themselves, and that these women had not been expected to dress in a Roman way. The occupation of the man on stone M22 has been the subject of some debate. The scene which shows him holding a club and leading two 'barbarians' in chains leaves two main interpretations open: that he was a veteran of the Roman army, in which case the scene would depict war prisoners, or that he was a magistrate responsible for games involving prisoners as gladiators.⁷⁸⁸ In either case the man can be interpreted as a representative of the Roman order, and the meaning of the scene was considered important enough to include on

the gravestone. So it is all the more interesting that his wife is depicted in Menimane's ensemble, complete with bonnet, albeit with her cloak draped in a Roman way. The final stone to indicate occupation is a late 3rd-cent. *stela* from Cologne (U33) showing a praetorian tribune of either Postumus or Gallienus in Roman military attire, with his wife and daughter in the Ubian ensemble.

In all of these four cases, the men performed important official roles, but the women of the family retained pre-Roman dress. It is difficult to imagine that the public-private dichotomy did not play a role here; for, even though the dress behaviour may ultimately express real differences in ethnic origin between the people depicted, the women could have adopted Roman dress like many of their contemporaries. We will never know whether these women had to struggle to retain their native dress or indeed if they were expected to, but it is likely that the fact that they did was due to their more private, domestic role in society. Perhaps these women acted as 'guardians' of their ethnicity.

Moreover, as Hingley has shown for Iron-Age and Roman Britain, and Okun for the Upper Rhine area, the division between the male, 'public' and female, 'private' areas of the domestic household itself correlates with the extent to which each gender adopted elements of Roman culture.⁷⁸⁹ Okun is one of very few scholars of the Roman north-west to assess manifestations of cultural change by gender. She established a lower rate for women than for men in her region, visible, among other things, in their dress behaviour, and offered the following explanation:

Men functioned in the public sphere. Their power and prestige was measured in terms of this sphere, whereas the women's sphere was the private home life and not as open to public scrutiny. Consequently, women would not benefit from changing their practices within the house. It did not matter how they ran their kitchen, as long as they set a 'Roman' table when entertaining company.⁷⁹⁰

The latter refers to the fact that while pre-Roman pottery was used in the kitchen, imported ware was often used for the table. This observation has been made by a number of other archaeologists such as Schucany in her study of Roman Baden and Bloemers for the Batavian area,⁷⁹¹ and feeds into a larger debate as to the relative significance of cultural change in the public and private spheres respectively.⁷⁹² It has been argued that changes to material culture in the public sphere are to be interpreted as more superficial and thus less significant than those in the private sphere.

⁷⁸⁵ Schoss 1996.

⁷⁸⁶ Durham 1999, 395.

⁷⁸⁷ Gelman Taylor 1997, 113.

⁷⁸⁸ Neuffer 1932; Nesselhauf 1937, 92 no. 136; Koethe 1937, 206f.; Hahl 1937, 14 note 43; Gerster 1938, 75; 78; 81; Mariën 1945b, 101f.; 145; Hatt 1957b, 80; 90; 1971; 1986, 154; Schoppa 1957, pl. 53; Petrikovits et al. 1963, 38ff. no. 4; Petrikovits 1965, 67ff. & pl. 29; Bauchhenß 1975, 91-94; 437; Wild 1985, 384f. & pl. VIII, 25; Andrikopolou-Strack 1986.

⁷⁸⁹ Hingley 1990; Okun 1989.

⁷⁹⁰ Okun 1989, 135f.

⁷⁹¹ Schucany 1996, 8f. and 188f.; Bloemers 1990, 79.

⁷⁹² See, for example, Galsterer/Galsterer 1992, 377; MacMullen 2000, 136; Mikl-Curk 1990, 134; Schucany 1996, 8f.

This reasoning, however, makes an interpretation of the situation in the Treveran area all the more difficult, for here, as stated above, we find the exact reverse of the scenario in the Rhine zone: where there is a gender difference, it is the *women* who wear Roman dress while their men wear Gallic dress. While it cannot be denied that such a clear reversal of the situation *must* reflect a different attitude of or to the women in this area with regard to cultural change, it is difficult to imagine that their role in society was so very dissimilar to their contemporaries further to the east. And while the relative lack of immigrants in the Treveran area may be one reason why we see the majority of the men on the stones in Gallic dress, it does not explain why many of their wives chose to take on Roman clothing, or at least elements of it.

Although Freigang is right to point out that Roman garments such as the *palla* were probably expensive and may have acted as status symbols, her conclusion that the *palla* shows that these families aspired *generally* to a Roman *habitus* is too simplified.⁷⁹³ Perhaps what we are seeing in the Treveran area is more cultural continuity overall coupled with less pressure to change, such that there was less urgency to actively retain native cultural elements. In other words, in an area where most people wore Gallic dress, women did not *need* to function as ‘guardians of ethnicity’ and could adopt elements of Roman dress if they so wished without any threat to the cultural equilibrium. Some advocates of the view that cultural change in the private sphere was more profound may argue that the fact that some Treveran women, who are also likely to have occupied mainly domestic roles in society, took on Roman dress reflects a more profound change in cultural outlook. Of course, it is possible that, for whatever reason, these women simply *liked* Roman styles and were free to adopt them. We cannot, however, rule out the possibility that these women also acted as ‘display cabinets’ for their husbands’ wealth and standing, as most of these women appear to have belonged to higher status groups. Roman clothing is likely to have been more expensive, and as such probably exuded an air of sophistication.

Dress and generation

A small number of stones from the Middle Rhine and Ubian areas show an apparent generation gap in dress behaviour. On all of them, parents in native dress appear with children in Roman dress or elements thereof. In all cases where it is indicated, a parent, as opposed to one of the children, was responsible for commissioning the stone. On a 1st cent. stone from Bingerbrück (M21), a woman with a Latin name but wearing Menimane’s ensemble is depicted with her son, Ti. Iulius Severus, wearing a toga. The stone was made by her husband, the boy’s father, Ti. Iulius Eunos. We cannot be certain in this case that generation was a factor: Eunos, as a Roman

citizen, may also have portrayed himself in a toga had he too appeared on the portrait. In that case, gender will have been the deciding variable.

The long-established interpretation of the portrait image on the front of Blussus and Menimane’s gravestone from Mainz from the Claudian era (M12) also pointed to an aspiration of the couple to raise their child within the new cultural context: Blussus and Menimane are depicted in the seated, native, front-on manner and in native dress. Between them at the back stands a boy whose dress is difficult to see. The inscription states that a slave, Satto, is also buried with the couple, and it seems logical that the boy depicted is Satto. However, a round object the boy holds up was originally interpreted as a *bulla*, rendering much more plausible an identification of the boy as the son, Primus, who is also mentioned in the inscription, as it is unlikely that a slave will have worn such an item. Recent grave good finds in the cemetery at Wederath, however, suggest an important role for small, round cakes or bread rolls in the native funerary ritual of this region.⁷⁹⁴ An interpretation of the round item on Blussus and Menimane’s stone as a piece of bread would solve the contradiction between the text of the inscription which states that Satto is buried with the couple, the peregrine status of the family and the supposed depiction of a free Roman citizen boy, which status the *bulla* symbolises.⁷⁹⁵ This interpretation, to which this author now leans, would leave only the fact of a Roman-style gravestone and the name of the son, perhaps signifying the first of the family to be brought up under the new order, as indicators of the cultural aspirations of Blussus and Menimane. Despite their choice of a Roman-style grave monument and the fact that they seem to have done very well out of the presence of the Roman army in Mainz (Blussus was, as the inscription tells us, a *nauta* on the Rhine and the size of the stone indicates that the couple died quite wealthy, although without citizenship), the fact that they are portrayed in the native seated pose and in full Iron Age garb reveals that the adoption of Roman dress by Blussus and Menimane was considered too great a leap.

A number of other stones are, however, more clear, perhaps none more so than a *stela* from Koblenz (M25) from the 1st cent. depicting a man in Gallic dress and his wife in Menimane’s ensemble in the local seated, front-on on style. In contrast, their son, for whom the stone was made,⁷⁹⁶ sits almost sideways next to them in an elaborate chair with armrests and a footstool. He wears a *tunica* and *pallium*. The parents’ pride in their son is further highlighted by the scrolls depicted in his lap that mark him out as *litteratus*.⁷⁹⁷ Below the inscription, five young women, who are presumably the couple’s daughters, are depicted in the more Roman

⁷⁹³ Freigang 1997a, 309: “Das Pallium [= the *palla* in this study] zeigt wie die Toga das Streben nach einem römischen Habitus.”

⁷⁹⁴ See Abegg/Cordie-Hackenberg 1990; Währen 1990a; 1990b.

⁷⁹⁵ This impossibility was pointed out, e.g., by Böhme-Schönberger in 2003 (285 note 2).

⁷⁹⁶ This is deduced from his prominence in the portrait, the male name of the dedicatee and the word ‘*mater*’ in the inscription.

⁷⁹⁷ See the section ‘The *pallium*’ in the Middle Rhine area above.

half-figure bust style. They also wear *tunicae* and *pallae*, but their native origins are expressed in the disc pendants and torques around their necks. The impression given is that the parents could reconcile their pride in their own native customs with their children's adaptation to their new cultural context. Perhaps, like Blussus and Menimane, they even gave their children Roman names. Unfortunately, very little remains of the inscription so that the only name that can be read, albeit unclearly, Vegeius/elus, is unattested elsewhere.

A 2nd-cent. sarcophagus from Cologne (U12) tells a similar story: a man in Gallic dress and a woman in Ubian dress are depicted with their son in a toga and daughter wearing a *palla*. Like the stone from Bingerbrück (M21), this monument was commissioned by a husband for his wife. The stone merchant's sarcophagus (U35), which he commissioned for himself and his 'deceased', and the portrait fragment U40, also from Cologne, both show men in Gallic capes with another man in Roman dress, in the case of the first stone, a toga, on the second, a toga or *sagum*. From the context it seems likely that in both cases, the man in Roman dress is a son of the former. In these cases, the difference in clothing may also depict a difference in legal status: the sons depicted in the toga may have been citizens while their fathers were not.⁷⁹⁸

It is significant that we do not see this generational phenomenon at all on the stones from the Treveran area, especially considering that they are so much more numerous. This may be due to the fact that most of the stones date to the 2nd cent. or later, in other words after the time when we would expect to find a transitional period. Nonetheless, the sarcophagus from Cologne described above (U12) shows that the transition could happen many generations after the advent of Roman rule. By contrast, even the two earliest Treveran stones that depict families (T9: late 1st cent., T23: circa 100) show families wearing either thoroughly Roman or thoroughly Gallic dress. It would appear that in the Treveran area, as was the case with dress behaviour by gender, different cultural processes were at work than on the Rhine.

The lack of a visible 'transition period' on the Treveran stones correlates strongly with the claims made above in the discussion of 'The toga' and 'The Gallic ensemble' in the Treveran area, that the *togati* and their Roman-clad families were a constant element from the very beginning, and that the increasing relative frequency of the Gallic ensemble on the stones over time does not represent a *change* in dress behaviour, but rather shows that a new group of people, who wore Gallic dress, came to be in the position to dedicate portrait grave monuments. From both angles, it seems that two main parallel streams of dress behaviour existed in the Treveran area side by side, with very little of the overlap we see in the other two areas.

⁷⁹⁸ However, the sarcophagus is dated to the 3rd cent., probably after the *constitutio Antoniniana* when the importance of distinguishing citizen status will have decreased.

The bonnet

Any head covering for women apart from a veil was un-Roman in character, not least because for the ladies in the capital, hairstyles (sometimes very elaborate) were the single most important element of fashion, while clothing remained relatively unchanged over time.⁷⁹⁹ By contrast, a form of bonnet constitutes part of each of the three female native dress ensembles (Gallic ensemble, Menimane's ensemble, Ubian ensemble) in our area, and can thus be considered a common clothing element of native dress in our region. As such, the bonnets themselves are worthy of separate scrutiny.

First, let us examine the distribution of the bonnet on our stones. The typology distinguishes between the Gallic bonnet (B701) and the Ubian bonnet (B702). The conspicuous Ubian bonnet that was worn with Ubian dress has been shown in the previous chapter to have been rare on our stones,⁸⁰⁰ but seemingly relatively unconstrained by place (the stones come from both Cologne and the countryside) and time (they date from the early-mid 1st to the late 2nd cent.). The Gallic bonnet, on the other hand, appears on stones from the 1st cent. onward and is a great deal more prevalent.

In the Ubian area, the Gallic bonnet only appears on two sarcophagi from the 3rd cent.: U35 (Cologne) and U49 (Bonn). In the Treveran area, however, 22 stones in total show a woman or women wearing the Gallic bonnet, 18 of them on portraits⁸⁰¹ and four of them in other scenes,⁸⁰² showing that the bonnet was worn in everyday life. Three further stones may depict the Gallic bonnet.⁸⁰³

According to Wild, the bonnet was more common in the Treveran area than anywhere else in the north-western provinces.⁸⁰⁴ But what is also significant is its geographical distribution within this area: leaving out the three uncertain depictions, only seven of the stones come from Trier,⁸⁰⁵ while 15 come from the rest of the Treveran area, in stark contrast to the geographical distribution of the grave monuments as a whole, which is concentrated in the capital. Seven of the non-Trier stones come from Arlon, but the population of Arlon is known to have been closely linked with an unusually dense accumulation of villas in the area, so that it must be regarded as far more rural in character than Trier. In any case, at least two of the Arlonaise stones depicting the Gallic bonnet (T30, T38) belonged to people involved in agriculture (based on agricultural scenes on the stones). The remaining eight were found in rural

⁷⁹⁹ See Wild 1985, 392.

⁸⁰⁰ U6, U12, U51.

⁸⁰¹ T15, T17, T19, T24, T28, T30, T36, T38-39, T53, T60-61, T73, T76, T83, T93, T97-98.

⁸⁰² T108, T127, T169, T175.

⁸⁰³ T68, T82, T128.

⁸⁰⁴ Wild 1968b, 199.

⁸⁰⁵ Including Neumagen.

locations across the Treveran territory (with no specific geographical emphasis). It is thus justified to see the appearance of the Gallic bonnet in the Treveran area as a more rural trend.

The stones depicting the bonnet themselves range from grave pillars (e.g. T60-61) to relatively humble *cippi* and *stelae* (e.g. T76, T93). Few indications of occupation of the family are given: apart from the farmers from Arlon mentioned above, we have one smith's wife (T93), one wine-making or wine-selling family (T175) and two other agricultural families (T108, T175). Apart from one stone from Arlon (T30), all the women wear the bonnet with the entire Gallic ensemble, i.e. without any elements of Roman dress.

What is the significance of this distribution? The particular popularity of the bonnet in the Treveran area is striking, but corresponds largely to the overriding popularity of the Gallic ensemble in that area. As such, a discussion of this fact would only repeat the points made in the section on the Gallic ensemble in the Treveran area above. The geographical distribution *within* the Treveran area is more significant. How can we explain the rural slant of this type of headdress? To answer this, it is necessary to examine the possible significance of the bonnet as a garment.

Head adornment has played a special role in garment ensembles throughout human history due to the visual prominence of the head and its central role in the nervous system. As such, the head has been regarded in different societies, both past and present, as the seat of spiritual forces and the source of life.⁸⁰⁶ Hats and plumes also enlarge or accentuate the head, and, as such, its symbolic nature.⁸⁰⁷ For women, moreover, headwear has often been imbued with special meaning: a common theme in many cultures is the association of the covering of the head with female modesty. The veiling of the head by respectable Roman Republican women and the significance of the *hijab* in Muslim society are just two cases in point. Hindu women are required to cover their heads for various reasons: the superior physical attractiveness of women, which is believed to invite trouble from the opposite sex and evil in general, is perceived to be lessened when the hair is covered and the supposed greater nervous sensitivity of females is protected by covering the nervous centre of the body.⁸⁰⁸ In some societies, the hair itself is considered to be sacred.⁸⁰⁹

So what does this mean for our region? To begin with, let us test the first notion, that headdresses have a special symbolic function due to the physical and psychological-spiritual significance of the head. The Ubian women's bonnet has long been regarded as more than a simple head covering due to its use by Matron deities. Although

it should not be forgotten that the clothing of the Ubian Matron deities when they began to be depicted in human form is likely to have derived from the Ubian mortal women's dress and not vice versa, the exaggerated size and conspicuousness of the bonnet as worn by the Matrons suggests it possessed a greater significance than the other garments in the ensemble. In the garment description in chapter 4, various theories were explored as to what the Ubian bonnet symbolised and why only some women are depicted wearing it. Although this research has remained inconclusive, some scholars believe that the bonnet held significance related to the role of the Matron deities as symbols of nature and fertility. The difficulty arises in identifying the deciding criteria for mortal women to wear the bonnet: it may have been a sign of certain outstanding values, a sign of a particular social or familial status, or it may simply have been the mark of women who held particular functions in the Matron cult. Such a spiritual symbolic function cannot, however, be applied to the Gallic bonnet offhand.

The second characteristic of head adornment – as a method of protection for female virtues – is problematic due to the fact that we know very little of the status of women in northern Gaul. From what we know of the status of women in Celtic society, it seems very unlikely that the rejection of the bonnet by women in the Trier region signals a freer state for them: Celtic women are believed to have enjoyed comparative freedom and when compared to Roman society, Celtic society has often come out looking more woman-friendly.⁸¹⁰ However, our evidence is sparse for this subject and it is nonetheless possible that, regardless of the level of freedom or lack thereof, the bonnet did constitute something of a symbol of female respectability in northern Gaul.

The rural emphasis of the distribution for the Gallic bonnet is conspicuous. All women, rural or urban, who ever handled Roman money had access to depictions of hairstyle fashions at Rome. Indeed, it is this medium more than any other that is likely to be responsible for the ability of provincial women to follow Roman hair fashions so closely. As a seemingly important element of native dress in our region from its earliest depictions on our stones, the bonnet is likely to have been considered part of the Gallic ensemble. But most women in and around the Treveran capital, although they wear the Gallic ensemble, do not wear the bonnet. It could be argued that these women were perhaps more interested in following Roman hairstyles and rejected the bonnet that prevented them from doing so. That would imply that the rural women were less anxious to be fashionable, at least in an urban Roman sense. Wearing a bonnet in place of a up to date hairstyle could thus be

⁸⁰⁶ Dar 1969, 1. See also Biebuyck/van den Abbeele 1984, 24f. for a general overview.

⁸⁰⁷ Biebuyck/van den Abbeele 1984, 28.

⁸⁰⁸ Dar 1969, 2.

⁸⁰⁹ Biebuyck/van den Abbeele 1984, 38.

⁸¹⁰ For example, what little can be derived from Caesar corresponds to what Tacitus says about German women: that their opinion in matters of war was respected and often considered sacred (Caes., *B Gall.* 1.50, Tac., *Germ.* 8). Tacitus also says that the German woman was considered the *socia* of her husband in work and war (18).

defined as 'anti-fashion', and as such more 'conservative'. Of course, this description may equally be applied to the women's husbands, who may have had their own ideas as to how their wives or respectable women in general should look.⁸¹¹

Finally, it should not be forgotten that head coverings also possess a purely pragmatic property: they keep the head warm. This is no doubt at least one of the factors responsible for the existence of the bonnet in native dress of the cold north-western provinces. A hat of some description is, in fact, one of the components of the 'arctic costume' as originally defined by Schweinfurth and Stratz.⁸¹² And although a form of hat is practically never worn by men in our region, their Gallic cape was fitted with a hood to fulfil such a purpose. Of course, relying solely on this explanation, one would have to argue that the climate around Trier must have been considerably warmer than other areas in the region for the women there not to need head coverings! Nevertheless, the agricultural lifestyle of the rural parts of the region will have required more of its inhabitants' clothing in the way of protection from the elements; and although many of the women depicted in the bonnet were from wealthy land-owning families, and as such were unlikely to have spent much time tilling the soil themselves, one need look no further than the modern British aristocracy to discover a fondness for outdoor clothing in situations where practicality does not call for it and where it serves more as a symbolic signifier of land ownership. Following on from this, the rejection of the bonnet by most of the women from Trier may have been due to its symbolic association with agriculture and 'ruralness', a quality that was deemed inappropriate for the refined women of Trier.⁸¹³

In summary, then, the Ubian bonnet may have held a particular spiritual-symbolic significance, over and above its role as a component of native dress. This is not certain and there is no indication that this, if true, would apply to the Gallic bonnet as well. However, to draw solely from the other end of the explanatory spectrum, practical utility, in order to explain its use would mean to ignore the marked geographical emphasis of its distribution. Unless it can be proven that Roman Trier possessed a considerably warmer climate than the surrounding countryside, a symbolic explanation must also be assumed for the popularity of the Gallic bonnet among rural, and its rejection by urban, Treveran women (and the fact that it is almost always worn with the entire Gallic ensemble). Such an explanation may range from an element of cultural conservatism on the part of these women and/or their husbands to a conscious level of resistance to Roman fashion and ideals of female sartorial decency. It may, however, have presented no more than a visual link to the outdoor-

oriented lifestyle of the rural Treveran population, an image that contrasted sharply with the urbane connotations of metropolitan Roman hairstyles.

Mixed ensembles

A considerable number of stones from our region portray people wearing a mixture of garments of both Roman and native origin in the one ensemble. This phenomenon goes right to the heart of the very complex link between dress and cultural identity and, as such, must be looked at in greater detail.

The overall picture for mixed garment ensembles shows it to be more prevalent among females than males, and to be a primarily rural trend in the Treveran and Middle Rhine areas, while in the Ubian area the distribution is more even. Given the much larger number of stones from the Treveran area, it is underrepresented in this category with only five instances on four stones⁸¹⁴ while the Middle Rhine and Ubian areas contain 18 instances on seven and five stones respectively.⁸¹⁵ To understand this, it is necessary to first explore the possible cultural meanings of these mixed ensembles.

One telling factor is that almost all of them are worn by women. In only four instances on three stones⁸¹⁶ do men wear mixed ensembles, and in all three cases it is the long-sleeved Gallic tunic with a toga or *pallium*.⁸¹⁷ In the section of her study of dress in India that deals with the British colonial period, Tarlo lists several solutions chosen by men to the problem of 'what to wear' in order to express their position in the new system. Some clung faithfully to their traditional garments, while others embraced Western clothing in its entirety. Many, however, reached a compromise that involved a mixture of both clothing styles. As discussed in the section 'Work dress vs portraits' above, this often involved alternating between British and Indian dress according to the occasion. Some, however, adopted only selected elements of British dress. In this way, the men could appear diplomatic and adroit because their clothes showed knowledge of both local and European customs. Of course, the same men always ran the risk of being ridiculed by both British and traditional Indians. This mixing was most prevalent in the cities, but even so, Western garments were not always easy to get hold of and were usually expensive so they also served as ideal status symbols.⁸¹⁸

The fact that most of these were men who had been educated in a British manner is highly relevant for our

⁸¹¹ As mentioned above in the previous section, the role of men in deciding female attire has often been overlooked when the clothing behaviour of women is described as 'backward' or 'conservative'.

⁸¹² Cited in Hiler/Hiler 1939, xxii.

⁸¹³ Interestingly, in Indonesia, the main visual signifier of city or country people is foot covering; even when the same dress is worn by members of the rural and urban populations, bare feet clearly distinguishes the country-dwellers from city folk (van Dijk 1997, 41).

⁸¹⁴ T30, T45, T62, T67.

⁸¹⁵ M13, M18-22, M25, U9, U35, U39-40, U51.

⁸¹⁶ T62, U9, U40.

⁸¹⁷ See also this pattern in Appendix II, Tables 11-18.

⁸¹⁸ See Dar 1969, 75-78; Tarlo 1996, 48f. Examples include the wealthy Parsis in Bombay, some Maharajas and local elites (Tarlo 1996, 48). Cf. Indonesia, where this also occurred: van Dijk 1997, 69.

study. For as various scholars have shown, classical education (in rhetoric, mythology etc.) was an important means by which provincial elites came to identify themselves with the larger cultural circle of the Roman Empire.⁸¹⁹ In Tarlo and Dar's studies, the men who adopted some elements of British dress did so to symbolise allegiance to the idea of 'progress' and 'enlightenment' that was propagated in their education.⁸²⁰ The wearing of the long-sleeved Gallic tunic with the toga or *pallium* by the men in our area indicates that these men probably wore the Gallic tunic in their everyday lives, and that it was the symbolic properties of the overgarment, i.e. citizenship, education, sophistication etc., that was of importance, rather than an appearance in a fully Roman manner.

It is significant, however, that the majority of garment-mixing in our region applies to women (in all, 14 instances on 13 stones). In 10, perhaps 11,⁸²¹ instances, the woman wears native dress with only the addition of the *palla* instead of the native cloak. It is, of course, possible that this is not a *palla* at all, but the native cloak draped in a Roman style (indeed, there may have been very little difference between them), but in either case it represents a Roman accessory to an otherwise native outfit. The phenomenon is particularly frequent in the Middle Rhine area, where pure Roman dress among women is relatively rare.⁸²² It would seem that the addition of a Roman accessory such as the *palla* was the most common concession to Roman fashion for women in the Middle Rhine area.

The implications of this were touched on in the section 'Dress and gender' above: in the case of women, different factors are likely to have played a role in dress choice than for men. In India, as Tarlo demonstrates, the adoption of a wholly Western outfit was out of the question for many women because it did not allow for the expression of the virtues expected of them, including shame and modesty, and the worldliness that Western dress symbolised was considered incongruous for rural women whose role in society lay firmly in the domestic sphere.⁸²³ But many of these women desired nonetheless to be seen to participate in some way in the world of modern fashion, and, as a result, reached a compromise which often involved the adoption of Western accessories that could be worn in addition to their native dress such as high-heeled shoes, blouses, petticoats and jackets. In fact, in the colonial period, the blouse was the garment most commonly chosen as a symbolic token of acknowledgement of and participation in Western fashion.⁸²⁴ Perhaps this is how we ought to see the wearing of the *palla*, or the native cloak in a Roman way, by women in our region. By

wearing native dress, these women were not breaking dramatically with their native customs; but by wearing their cloak in styles that originated in the core of the Empire, and that they had perhaps seen displayed on statues in urban centres or worn by other women who were 'in the know', they could nonetheless participate to some extent in imperial fashion.

In a very few cases, however, especially in the Ubian area, it would appear that the inverse is the case: certainly on U51 and M25, and perhaps on U9 and U39 as well,⁸²⁵ the women are depicted in Roman dress (*tunica*, *palla*) with a token accessory from the native dress: on U39 and M25 the disc pendant, on U35 and U51 a bonnet. Unfortunately, as stated above, we do not know exactly what these two items signified for their wearers. But this is clearly a different phenomenon to that observed above and would appear to relate to the meaning ascribed to these native objects which rendered it important to include them in an otherwise Roman outfit. They were token relics of ethnic origin worn for their symbolism.

To return now to the geographical distribution of 'mixed dressing': it is interesting that we have very few examples from the Treveran area, especially in relation to the overall number of stones. We saw the same pattern with regard to varying dress behaviour between generations⁸²⁶ in the lack of a visible 'transition period' in clothing over time. Again, the Treveran area stands in contrast to the other two areas, and it seems very likely that the two phenomena are related. The argument made several times above must be reiterated here: the appearance of Roman dress, especially the toga, and Gallic dress in the Treveran area ran *parallel* to one another over time. On portraits, a Roman-clad section of the population was a relatively constant element from the beginning of our stones, and the gradual appearance of Gallic dress in these stones reflect that a new group of people are appearing on the stones, not that dress behaviour is changing. All manifestations of overlap between these two sartorial realms, whether involving different dress behaviour among members of the same family or 'mixed dressing', are conspicuously minimal among the Treveri.

Instead, the majority of them wear a Gallic dress that, at least in the case of women, is only adopted widely after the area is incorporated into the Roman Empire, but is nonetheless native in origin. While their contemporaries on the Rhine were negotiating various compromises between Iron Age dress on the one hand, and Roman dress on the other, by means of mixing elements of both, the Treverans adopted a relatively unified image in the Gallic ensemble.

But what are the likely reasons for this apparent con-

⁸¹⁹ See, e.g., Brunt 1976; Woolf 1998; Wallace-Hadrill 2008.

⁸²⁰ See also education, its association with Western dress, especially the neck tie, and links of both to the idea of modernity and progress in Indonesia: van Dijk 1997, 59.

⁸²¹ It is unclear whether the dress of the woman on U39 consisted or more Ubian or Roman elements as the only garments that could be identified are the Ubian bonnet and the Roman *palla*.

⁸²² See Appendix II, Tables 14-15.

⁸²³ Tarlo 1996, 160-166; 257; 265.

⁸²⁴ Tarlo 1996, 46 and note 17.

⁸²⁵ It is unclear on the latter two stones whether the ensemble worn consisted of mainly native or mainly Roman elements, as only two garments can be identified: the *palla* and the bonnet.

⁸²⁶ See the section 'Dress and generation' above.

trast in attitude between the areas? A number of factors will have played a role. First, unlike in the other two areas, the *civitas Treverorum* witnessed only very minimal immigration from other parts of the Empire. This is especially true with regard to the presence of Roman troops in our region as a whole. As a result, immediate cultural confrontation will have been less frequent, and perhaps less dramatic, in the Treveran area than on the Rhine. A second consideration is the fact that the Treveran population appears to have possessed a high level of self-confidence that may have carried over from its prominent role in the pre-Roman political structure of

Gaul. This is evidenced in the initially protracted and not unsuccessful resistance to Roman rule on the part of the Treveri and in their later economic prosperity and entrepreneurship which is displayed so proudly in the grave monuments. Against this background, it is not difficult to see why the uniquely symbiotic Gallic ensemble was the order of the day. In their dress as in their economy, the Treveri eventually accepted and used the advantages of inclusion into a larger cultural-political complex without abandoning their cultural identity.

6. CONCLUSION

This study has shown for the Roman provinces what sociologists and anthropologists have known for a long time: that a person's clothes reveal a great deal about their tastes, their thoughts, their attitudes; in short, their identity. As such, dress has the ability to impart valuable information about the cultural effects of Roman rule on a provincial population. Portraits on gravestones may not always reflect exactly what was worn in everyday life, but their symbolic value more than makes up for this. Far from being a passive process of material consumption, the form of gravestone, and its portrait, was actively planned and deliberated upon, sometimes many years in advance, by the dedicatees themselves or their immediate family. The clothing chosen for the portrait was part of this process and is a means by which we can gain immediate access to the way the population of a region saw themselves and wished to be remembered.

The study began with a review of the current state of Roman cultural studies (chapter 1). The underlying aim has been to contribute new insights into the effect of Roman rule on the inhabitants of Rome's provinces. As such, the purpose of this concluding chapter is to summarise what can be deduced from the study of dress on funerary monuments in the context of Roman cultural studies.

To start with, the cultural processes at work in the Roman provinces were both highly complicated in themselves and influenced by a multitude of factors. The stark contrast in dress behaviour between the populations of the Treveran, Middle Rhine and Ubian areas show that the history of a people and the circumstances of its integration into the Roman Empire could play an important role in the way its members viewed the new political and cultural context and their place in it. In the Treveran area, where initial resistance to Roman rule was strong and immigration minimal, the gravestone habit was slow to spread and Roman dress was worn by a comparatively small elite group concentrated in and around the capital. The rest of the Treveri, who became increasingly visible as the region prospered and more stones were commissioned, wore native clothing. The steady spread of the very 'Roman' funerary monument among these people was not matched with an adoption by them of Roman dress.⁸²⁷

By contrast, the Ubii, who were closely allied with the Romans from the very beginning and whose city became the metropolitan centre of the region, became well integrated with the large numbers of immigrants to the area and were quick to adopt the Roman gravestone habit. Roman dress was worn by both a larger portion and a wider range of the population of the Ubian area than the other two areas. The evidence suggests the Ubii were

happier with adopting Roman norms than the Treveri, but the circumstances of their transfer to the new territory appear also to have engendered a desire for some degree of cultural continuity among part of the population. This can be seen in the survival of Ubian pre-Roman women's dress. Although the portion of women depicted in Ubian dress is comparatively small, it is also a constant element and appears unchanged on our stones throughout the period of this study.⁸²⁸ The significance of this is apparent when set against the disappearance of pre-Roman women's dress in the other two areas.

The Middle Rhine area presents yet another picture. Originally sparsely populated, it was dominated from the beginning by an overwhelming military presence. In the 1st cent., from which most of the stones in this area date, there appears to have been little integration between the original inhabitants and the immigrants. This may be the reason why few local natives appear to have commissioned Roman-style gravestones. However, those that did erect Roman monuments did so at a very early stage (see M4 from the late Tiberian period). Interestingly, Roman clothing was very popular with these people. The Roman dress that is worn, however, is neither the toga nor the full Roman women's ensemble, but the *pallium* for men and the *palla* (or perhaps the native rectangular cloak draped in a Roman style), with native dress for women. Perhaps these garments were favoured in the Middle Rhine area because through them one could display familiarity with the cultural symbols of the new order with, in the case of the *palla*, a minimum of effort and, in the case of the *pallium*, without having to possess Roman citizenship, a status which very few natives of the region appear to have acquired in this period.⁸²⁹

Within these larger geographical areas membership of certain social groups also influenced dress choice. Veterans, for example, were almost always portrayed in the toga, while artisans almost always wore the Gallic ensemble.⁸³⁰ Roman dress was most popular among the city-dwellers of the region, while members of the more rural towns such as Arlon chose to be depicted in native clothing. The rural character of Arlon was perhaps also responsible for the Arlonaise ladies' fondness for the Gallic bonnet and apparent indifference to metropolitan hairstyle fashions.⁸³¹

One of the most valuable aspects of this research has been the opportunity to observe cultural identity on an individual level. Through the very personalised medium of the grave portrait we are able to see that, while trends in populations and group identities existed, identities also could be and were negotiated on an individual level. This

⁸²⁷ 'Treveran area', chapter 5.

⁸²⁸ 'Ubian area', chapter 5.

⁸²⁹ 'Middle Rhine area', chapter 5.

⁸³⁰ 'Dress and occupation', chapter 5.

⁸³¹ 'The bonnet', chapter 5.

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⁸²⁷ 'Treveran area', chapter 5.

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⁸²⁹ 'Middle Rhine area', chapter 5.

⁸³⁰ 'Dress and occupation', chapter 5.

⁸³¹ 'The bonnet', chapter 5.

was most evident in the portraits that show members of the same family in a variety of dress types.

On the Rhine, for example, men who wore Roman dress were often portrayed with women in native dress. In many, especially earlier, cases, it would appear that many of the men were immigrants who had married native women. This is interesting in itself as the portrait shows that contrasting identities coexisted and were still important enough at the end of the couple's life to be expressed in contrasting clothing on the grave portrait. In the Ubian area the phenomenon continued until the later period of the study. It is likely that the disparity in dress was also related to the differing spheres in which men and women moved. While men went out to work and took part in political life, women's role in society was restricted mainly to the domestic, private sphere. As such, it is possible that the retention of native dress by women was due to a lack of necessity to present a Roman public image: they merely 'carried on as before'. However, the fact that many of these women, instead of wearing the full Ubian ensemble, retained token elements of the pre-Roman dress, such as the bonnet or the disc pendant, points to the more symbolic motivation of women acting as instruments of Ubian cultural preservation.⁸³²

Dress behaviour could also vary between the different generations in a family. On a number of our stones, parents wearing native dress were portrayed alongside sons and daughters wearing Roman garments. Most of these stones were commissioned by the older generation and appear to express a certain pride in, or aspiration for, their children's adaptation to the new situation in which the family found itself. M25 from Koblenz shows this most clearly: the young man to whom the stone is dedicated takes pride of place in the portrait, seated on an elaborate chair with his feet resting on a footstool, dressed in a *tunica* and *pallium* and clutching a scroll while his parents, dressed in pre-Roman dress, sit proudly next to him. His sisters, depicted in the gallery below, have also taken on Roman clothing, but they have retained token elements from the pre-Roman dress: torques and disc pendants. What we are seeing on this stone is the transition in this family from a pre-Roman identity to one more focused on the new order. It is interesting that although, through these stones, the older generation express a positive attitude toward the new culture, they themselves have retained their indigenous dress. One's native identity could apparently not be shed too rapidly, and the new system also meant new opportunities for the younger generation. In other words, the different occupation or legal status of the offspring is likely also to have been a factor in the sartorial generation gap.⁸³³

Moreover, multiple identities could coexist, not only within the same family, but within the same person. Several of the larger Treveran monuments show that some men, while wearing Gallic dress in everyday life, chose,

on their portraits, to be portrayed in the toga. For example, the wealthy gentleman portrayed on the front of the large grave pillar T56 as the quintessential educated Roman in a toga and holding a scroll is depicted in another scene returning triumphantly from a day's hunting with his dog and his gamekeeper, clothed in typical Gallic riding gear and proudly displaying his quarry. This and other examples discussed in the sections 'The toga' and 'The Gallic ensemble' in the Treveran area in chapter 5 show that members of the Treveran elite were versed in the symbols of the various cultural spheres to which they belonged. Far from displaying a *conflict* of identities, these stones show that one could be *both* a native *and* a Roman. Similar situations are attested throughout the history of the modern European empires. The examples of British India and the western suit were discussed, but many more instances could have been drawn upon, from 18th-cent. Scottish aristocracy to 20th-cent. African government. It is, in fact, the traditional model of Roman cultural history that deviates from the norm by seeing people as belonging to either one or the other cultural sphere. This is not to say that the terms 'native' and 'Roman' are obsolete. It is significant in the case of clothing that some garments originated in an indigenous population while others were imported from the outside. What the examples of both the Treveran gentlemen and also the many men and women discussed in the final section of chapter 5, who wore a mixture of Roman and native garments, show is that people were able to negotiate an identity that consisted of a *combination* of cultural references.

Perhaps the most interesting phenomenon observed in the dress practice of the Rhine-Moselle region was the emergence and subsequent popularity of the Gallic ensemble, and in particular the female Gallic ensemble.⁸³⁴ This outfit was thoroughly Gallic in origin and character, yet newly invented under, and apparently as a result of, Roman rule. It is, however, unlikely to have represented an 'invention of tradition' in Hobsbawm's sense, nor a provincial attempt to mimic Roman dress, as is Freigang's view. Rather, the striking parallels between this ensemble and the sari and the *shalwar kameez* in India, both in form and the way it developed, render an interpretation relating to the meanings of these two garments the most likely. The wearers of the *shalwar kameez* and the sari wished to distance themselves from both the colonial rulers *and* their traditional past. Like these outfits, the Gallic ensemble was a pan-regional dress that symbolised both native identity and a desire to be part of a new cultural framework. The wider significance of this 'Third Way' is that it shows how the *spread of ideas must be separated from the spread of material culture*. In the modern era, the adoption or rejection of certain clothing among, for example, Indians and Indonesians was often due, not only to considerations of ethnic identity, but also to the values certain outfits were imbued with, such as education, worldliness, female decency etc. For many inhabitants of the Rhine-Moselle region, inclusion into the Roman Empire meant a new set of values and absorp-

⁸³² 'Dress and gender', chapter 5.

⁸³³ 'Dress and generation', chapter 5.

⁸³⁴ 'The 'Gallic ensemble' and Menimane's ensemble', chapter 4 and 'The Gallic ensemble' sections in the three areas, chapter 5.

tion into a wider cultural context. In the case of the female Gallic ensemble, however, this did not result in the adoption of imported Roman dress, but the development of a new native outfit that expressed a new Gallic identity. Ethnic identity was only one part of the equation, and did not preclude the embracing of new ideas. The wearers of the Gallic ensemble were still Gauls, but they were up to date.

The extent to which a garment could embody ideas and values can perhaps best be seen in the wearing of the *pallium*. The popularity of the *pallium* among natives of the Middle Rhine area and its frequent accompaniment with the scroll suggest the garment symbolised less an affinity with Greek or Roman ethnic culture, and more the espousal of the idea of literacy, education and sophistication that classical culture brought to the area.⁸³⁵

At the same time, the distribution of the toga on our stones shows that it must have symbolised something more than Roman citizenship status. Had the toga merely expressed the possession of citizenship, we would surely have seen more of it in our portraits, especially after the *constitutio Antoniniana* of 212. Instead, it was mainly worn by those who were most likely to see themselves as participating in imperial culture: large-scale merchants, political functionaries, scholars and traders in the region's most important city, Cologne, and former members of the Roman military. This imperial culture was, however, not the material culture of the city of Rome, but an empire-wide system of symbols and relationships. It was different in character to both the pan-regional culture of the Gallic ensemble, and the various localised cultures of, for example, Ubian women's dress, for these were linked to geography and ethnicity. Again, however, this *difference* did not necessarily mean *conflict*. The people of the Rhine-Moselle region showed they could be conversant in the symbols and meanings of various cultures, and, as such, be part of all of them.⁸³⁶

The same is true for the sources themselves: the appearance of symbols of native identity (native dress) on the very 'Roman' medium of the portrait gravestone should not be perceived as a contradiction. Eisenstadt has shown how in India, radio and film have been instrumental in spreading traditional culture such as Sanskrit mantras and classical Indian music.⁸³⁷ Elements of the culture of an imperial power can be untethered from their geographical origins and be adopted, and 'owned', by those under its influence to serve their own needs.

This investigation of dress on portraits has shown how varied the responses of individual human beings to changing cultural situations could be. The philosopher Alfred North Whitehead once said, "we think in generalities, but we live in detail." Roman cultural research is

beginning to realise this and to move away from the generalities of the past. Equipped with the advantages of an ever-widening source base and theoretical framework, scholars are discovering more and more of the details of cultural processes in the ancient world. As Roger Griffin has put it,

[i]t is gradually being realized by historians, so long concerned with diplomacy, militarism, political elites, and economic systems, that the claim in a recent advertisement on British TV (for a type of credit card!) that 'only 7% of communication is verbal', applies to the entire history of humanity.⁸³⁸

While this undoubtedly presents a challenge, it is also an opportunity to push back the boundaries of our discipline and to better acquaint ourselves with the millions of people who went unmentioned in classical literature.

⁸³⁵ 'The *pallium*' in the Middle Rhine area, chapter 5.

⁸³⁶ Cf. Hannerz 1990, 237: "The world culture is created through the increasing interconnectedness of varied local cultures, as well as through the development of cultures without clear anchorage in any one territory."

⁸³⁷ Eisenstadt 1973, 293.

⁸³⁸ Griffin 2002, 220.

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APPENDIX I

Maps



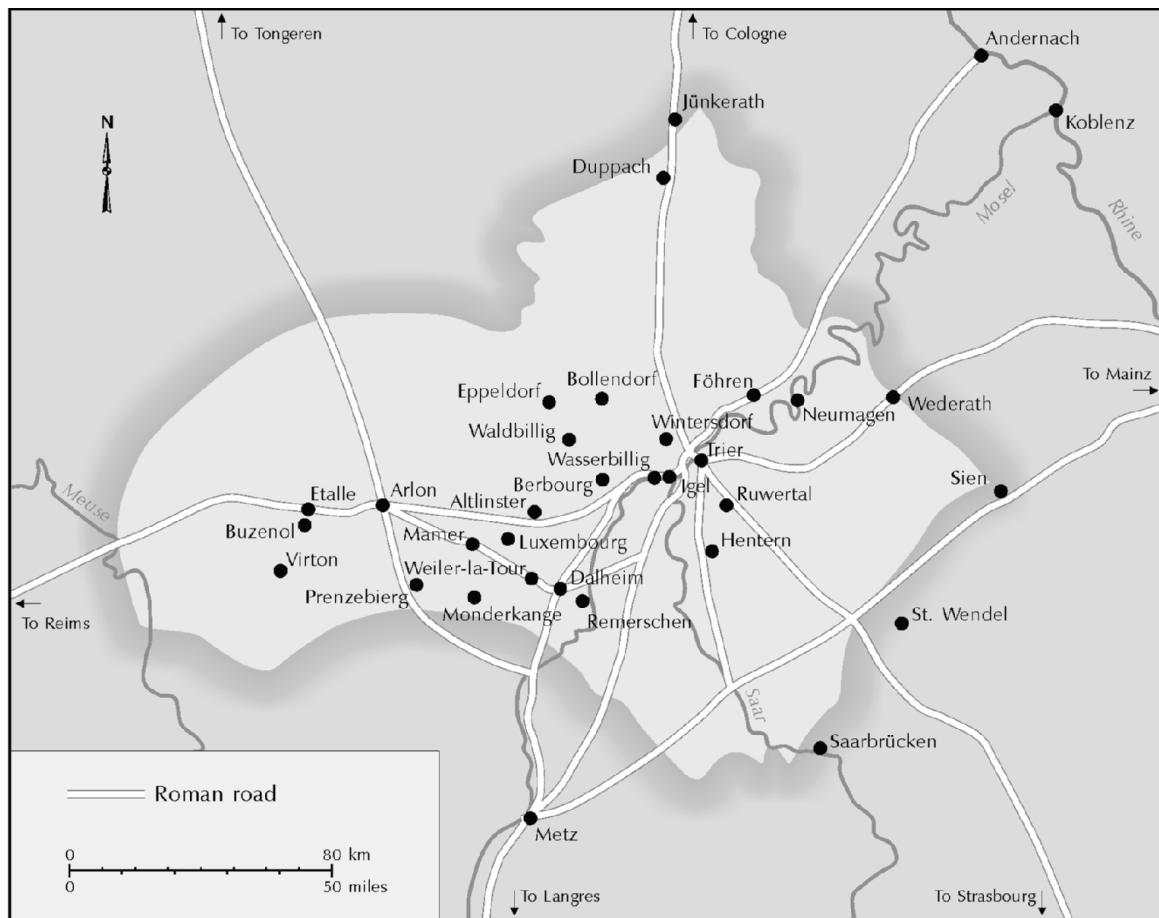
Map 1. General map of the Rhine-Moselle region with modern national borders showing the three areas of this study

APPENDIX I

Maps



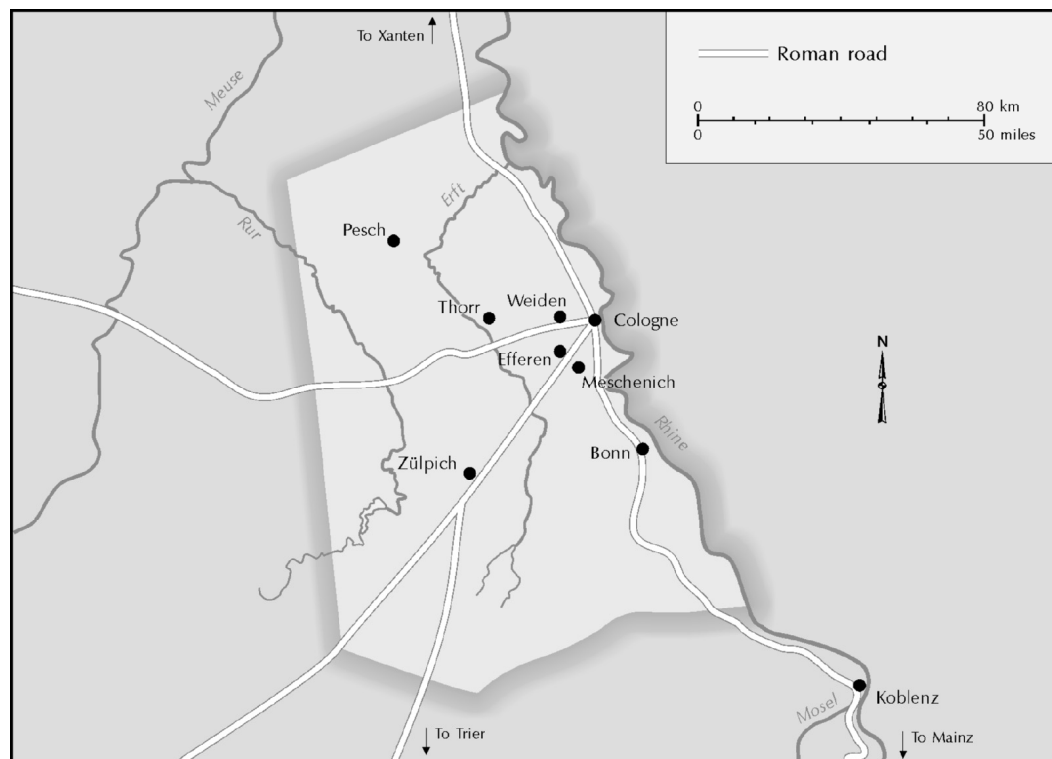
Map 1. General map of the Rhine-Moselle region with modern national borders showing the three areas of this study



Map 2. Map of the Treveran area with major Roman roads and the findspots of the stones mentioned in this study



Map 3. Map of the Middle Rhine area with major Roman roads and the findspots of the stones mentioned in this study



Map 4. Map of the Ubian area with major Roman roads and the findspots of the stones mentioned in this study

APPENDIX II

Statistical summaries

1. Frequency of garments overall

This section gives a general overview of the distribution of each garment in the typology. The first table for each gender shows the percentage of each type of scene (portrait, everyday life) showing that garment, followed by the percentage of stones overall showing that garment. The latter number will usually be smaller than the sum of the former two, due to the fact that many stones bear more than one scene. The second table for each gender shows the distribution of the garments according to which type of scene they were depicted on, in percentages. Where there is uncertainty as to the type of garment or scene, these have been omitted. Real numbers are given in brackets behind the percentages. Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number. The base numbers that are worked from for each area are as follows:

	Treveran Area	Middle Rhine Area	Ubian Area
No. portrait scenes	109	36	64
No. everyday scenes	162	12	6
No. stones overall	188	42	60

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	Treveran Area	Middle Rhine Area	Ubian Area
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No. stones overall	188	42	60

The garment codes from the typology in chapter 4. used in the following tables and the catalogue are as follows:

A=Men's garments:

B=Women's garments:

<p>BODY GARMENTS:</p> <p>A101 Gallic tunic (M)</p> <p>A102 Gallic undergarment (M)</p> <p>A103 <i>Tunica</i></p> <p>A104 <i>Exomis</i></p> <p>CAPES/CLOAKS:</p> <p>A201 Gallic cape</p> <p>A202 Shoulder cape</p> <p>A203 Treveran hooded cape</p> <p>A204 <i>Pallium</i></p> <p>A205 <i>Sagum</i></p> <p>TOGAS:</p> <p>A301 Toga</p> <p>A301,1 <i>Toga exigua</i></p> <p>A301,2 Imperial toga</p> <p>A301,3 Antonine toga</p> <p>A301,4 3rd-cent. toga</p> <p>LEGWEAR:</p> <p>A401 Trousers</p> <p>A402 Leg wrappings</p> <p>A403 Drawers</p> <p>NECKWEAR:</p> <p>A501 Gallic scarf</p> <p>A502 <i>Thorax/Focale/Sudarium</i></p> <p>APRONS:</p> <p>A601 Apron (M)</p> <p>HEADWEAR:</p> <p>A701 Gallic cap</p> <p>A702 <i>Pilleus</i></p> <p>A703 <i>Petasis</i></p>	<p>BODY GARMENTS:</p> <p>B101 Gallic tunic (F)</p> <p>B102 Gallic undergarment (F)</p> <p>B103 Menimane's bodice</p> <p>B104 Menimane's overtunic with <i>fibulae</i></p> <p>B105 Ubian tunic</p> <p>B106 <i>Tunica</i></p> <p>B107 <i>Stola</i></p> <p>CAPES/CLOAKS:</p> <p>B201 Ubian cloak</p> <p>B202 Rectangular cloak, modes:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Draped around shoulders and upper arms 2. Similar to 1., ends of cloak thrown back over each shoulder 3. Pinned on shoulder 4. Draped around neck and shoulders 5. Draped around shoulders and then in large hanging folds across upper part of body 6. Draped loosely around shoulders and upper arms and diagonally across front. At front, corner hangs down with a tassel 7. Draped around shoulders and arms and folded in a V across chest 8. Draped around right shoulder and diagonally across chest, supported by left forearm <p>B203 <i>Palla</i>, modes:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Over left shoulder, round back, under right arm and across front, supported by left hand 2. Similar to 1. but instead of supported by left hand, end is thrown up over left shoulder 3. Similar to 1., but covers both shoulders 4. Around hips supported by forearms 5. Around arms and draped over head. Left end supported by right arm 6. Around hips and over left shoulder 7. Similar to 2., but covers both shoulders <p>NECKWEAR:</p> <p>B501 Scarf of Menimane's ensemble</p> <p>APRONS:</p> <p>B601 Apron (F)</p> <p>HEADWEAR:</p> <p>B701 Gallic bonnet</p> <p>B702 Ubian bonnet</p> <p>B801 Disc pendant</p>
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1.1. Men's Clothing

Table 1: Percentage of scenes depicting specific garments:

	Treveran area			Middle Rhine area			Ubian area		
Garment	% Portrait scenes	% Every- day scenes	% Stones overall	% Portrait scenes	% Every- day scenes	% Stones overall	% Portrait scenes	% Every- day scenes	% Stones overall
A101	51 (56)	78 (127)	68 (127)	19 (7)	75 (9)	33 (14)	20 (13)	50 (3)	27 (16)
A102	-	5 (8)	3 (6)	-	-	-	-	-	-
A103	6 (7)	-	4 (7)	42 (15)	8 (1)	38 (16)	25 (16)	17 (1)	25 (15)
A104	-	1 (1)	1 (1)	-	-	-	-	-	-
A201	45 (49)	23 (38)	38 (72)	19 (7)	-	17 (7)	22 (14)	67 (4)	30 (18)
A202	-	4 (6)	3 (5)	-	-	-	-	-	-
A203	-	1 (2)	1 (2)	-	-	-	-	-	-
A204	-	1 (1)	1 (1)	19 (7)	3 (1)	19 (8)	2 (1)	-	2 (1)
A205	1 (1)	1 (1)	1 (2)	6 (2)	-	5 (2)	3 (2)	-	3 (2)
A301	21 (23)	1 (2)	13 (25)	36 (13)	-	31 (13)	27 (17)	17 (1)	25 (15)
A401	-	1 (2)	1 (2)	-	-	-	-	-	-
A402	-	4 (6)	3 (5)	-	-	-	-	17 (1)	2 (1)
A403	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17 (1)	2 (1)
A501	1 (1)	2 (3)	2 (4)	8 (3)	-	7 (3)	-	17 (1)	2 (1)
A502	-	-	-	6 (2)	-	5 (2)	-	-	-
A601	-	1 (1)	1 (1)	-	-	-	-	-	-
A701	-	2 (4)	2 (4)	-	-	-	-	-	-
A702	-	1 (1)	1 (1)	-	-	-	-	-	-
A703	-	1 (1)	1 (1)	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 2: Single garment depictions by type of scene:

	Treveran area			Middle Rhine area			Ubian area		
Garment	No. depictions overall	% Portrait scenes	% Every-day scenes	No. depictions overall	% Portrait scenes	% Every-day scenes	No. depictions overall	% Portrait scenes	% Every-day scenes
A101	381	18 (69)	82 (312)	27	26 (7)	74	19	79 (15)	21 (4)
A102	50	-	100 (50)	-	-	(20)	-	-	-
A103	7	100 (7)	-	21	95 (20)	-	22	95 (21)	5 (1)
A104	4	-	100 (4)	-	-	5 (1)	-	-	-
						-			
A201	114	48 (55)	52 (59)	7	100 (7)	-	23	65 (15)	35 (8)
A202	9	-	100 (9)	-	-	-	-	-	-
A203	4	-	100 (4)	-	-	-	-	-	-
A204	1	-	100 (1)	10	80 (8)	-	1	100 (1)	-
A205	2	50 (1)	50 (1)	2	50 (1)	20 (2)	2	100 (2)	-
						50 (1)			
A301	28	93 (26)	7 (2)	13	100 (13)	-	21	95 (20)	5 (1)
						-			
A401	2	-	100 (2)	-	-	-	-	-	-
A402	7	-	100 (7)	-	-	-	1	-	100
A403	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	(1)
						-			100
A501	5	20 (1)	80 (4)	3	100 (3)	-	1	-	(1)
A502	-	-	-	2	100 (2)	-	-	-	-
						-			100
A601	1	-	100 (1)	-	-	-	-	-	(1)
						-			-
A701	4	-	100 (4)	-	-	-	-	-	-
A702	1	-	100 (1)	-	-	-	-	-	-
A703	1	-	100 (1)	-	-	-	-	-	-
						-			-
						-			-
						-			-

1.2. Women's Clothing

Table 3: Percentage of scenes depicting specific garments:

	Treveran Area			Middle Rhine Area			Ubian area		
Garment	% Portrait scenes	% Every- day scenes	% Stones overall	% Portrait scenes	% Every- day scenes	% Stones overall	% Portrait scenes	% Every- day scenes	% Stones overall
B101	54 (52)	41 (67)	39 (74)	8 (3)	8 (1)	7 (3)	6 (4)	-	7 (4)
B102	3 (3)	1 (1)	2 (4)	-	-	-	-	-	-
B103	-	-	-	28 (10)	-	21 (9)	-	-	-
B104	-	-	-	25 (9)	-	19 (8)	-	-	-
B105	-	-	-	-	-	-	8 (5)	-	8 (5)
B106	17 (19)	3 (5)	10 (18)	14 (5)	-	12 (5)	30 (19)	-	28 (17)
B107	3 (3)	1 (2)	3 (5)	-	-	-	2 (1)	-	2 (1)
B201	-	-	-	-	-	-	11 (7)	67 (4)	13 (8)
B202	34 (37)	7 (12)	23 (44)	14 (5)	8 (1)	12 (5)	5 (3)	-	5 (3)
B203	18 (20)	1 (1)	9 (17)	31 (11)	-	24 (10)	39 (25)	-	37 (22)
B501	-	-	-	3 (1)	-	2 (1)	-	-	-
B601	-	1 (1)	1 (1)	-	-	-	-	-	-
B701	16 (17)	5 (8)	11 (21)	11 (4)	-	7 (3)	3 (2)	-	3 (2)
B702	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 (3)	-	5 (3)
B801	-	-	-	14 (5)	-	12 (5)	3 (2)	-	3 (2)

Table 4: Single garment depictions by type of scene:

	Treveran area			Middle Rhine area			Ubian area		
Garment	No. depictions overall	% Portrait scenes	% Every-day scenes	No. depictions overall	% Portrait scenes	% Every-day scenes	No. depictions overall	% Portrait scenes	% Every-day scenes
B101	120	44 (53)	56 (67)	4	75 (3)	25 (1)	5	100 (5)	-
B102	4	75 (3)	25 (1)	-	-	-	-	-	-
B103	-	-	-	10	100 (10)	-	-	-	-
B104	-	-	-	9	100 (9)	-	-	-	-
B105	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	100 (5)	-
B106	24	79 (19)	21 (5)	9	100 (9)	-	21	100 (21)	-
B107	5	80 (4)	20 (1)	-	-	-	1	100 (1)	-
B201	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	67 (8)	33 (4)
B202	50	74 (37)	26 (13)	6	83 (5)	17 (1)	3	100 (3)	-
B203	23	96 (22)	4 (1)	17	100 (17)	-	26	100 (26)	-
B501	-	-	-	1	100 (1)	-	-	-	-
B601	1	-	1 (1)	-	-	-	-	-	-
B701	25	68 (17)	32 (8)	4	100 (4)	-	2	100 (2)	-
B702	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	100 (3)	-
B801	-	-	-	7	100 (7)	-	2	100 (2)	-

2. Frequency of garments: chronological

This section gives an overview of the distribution of Roman, native and mixed garment ensembles worn on individual portrait depictions by men and women in each area over time. As individual people, and not whole scenes, have been taken as the base unit, there are more base units than whole stones. Using dress behaviour on single whole stones would have made many stones impossible to classify due to the differing dress behaviour of individuals on the same stone and would have made these individual dress choices invisible. Depictions of slaves and servants in the portraits are omitted as these act as auxiliary figures to the overall scene; the portraits were not necessarily intended to be 'of them'. Undated depictions have also been omitted, as have those on which the clothing is unclear.

The differing levels of accuracy in the dating of the stones presented a large problem in choosing a suitable graph type. An attempt was originally made to categorise the stones into fixed time brackets, but the considerable overlapping of dating periods for many stones rendered this impossible. As a consequence, the individual depictions appear separately as bars along a time line. All dates are in years AD. The length of the bar shows the time frame within which the stone has been dated. A stone dated to the 1st cent., for example, will appear as a bar between 0 and 100. In the many cases where a stone is dated to the 'early', 'mid' or 'late' period of a century, these three terms have been interpreted as the 1st, 2nd and 3rd thirds of a century. As such, a stone dated to the early 1st cent. will appear on the graph as a bar from 0 to 33, to the mid 1st cent. as a bar from 33 to 67 and to the late 1st cent. as a bar from 67 to 100. Where a stone has been dated to 'circa' one particular year, 10 years have been taken either side of that date, so that a stone dated to, for example, circa 190 will appear as a bar on the graph from 180 to 200. The separate individual depictions ('Cases' on the graph) are ordered according to their mean dates. Stones with the same mean date are presented consecutively in no particular order. While the order of stones with identical mean dates may potentially influence the overall impression of trends in the graph, it was unavoidable. The reader is advised to bear this in mind. Roman, native and mixed ensembles have been colour-shaded for identification.

2.1. Treveran area

Table 5: Individual male portraits comparing the chronological distribution of Roman, native and mixed ensembles

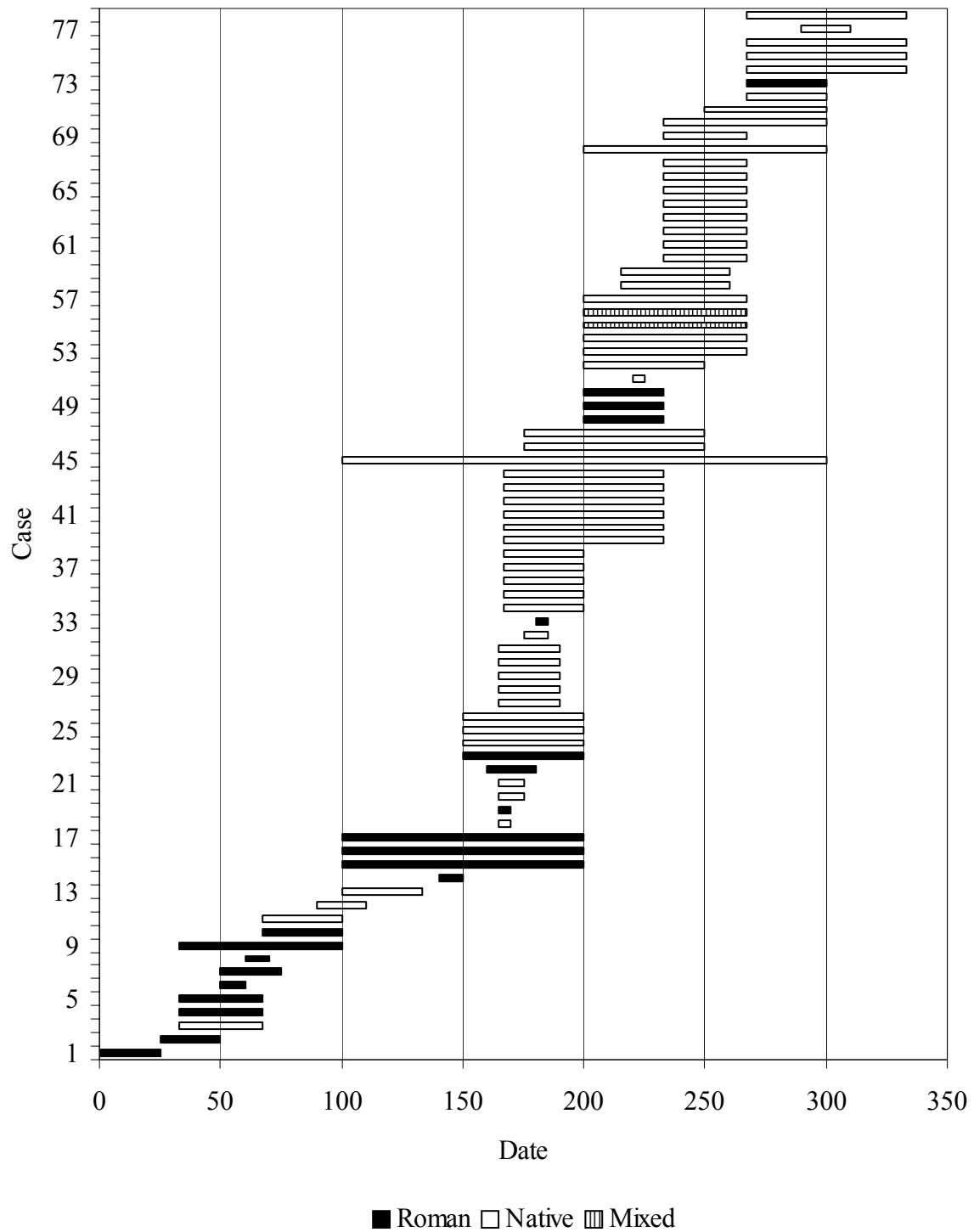
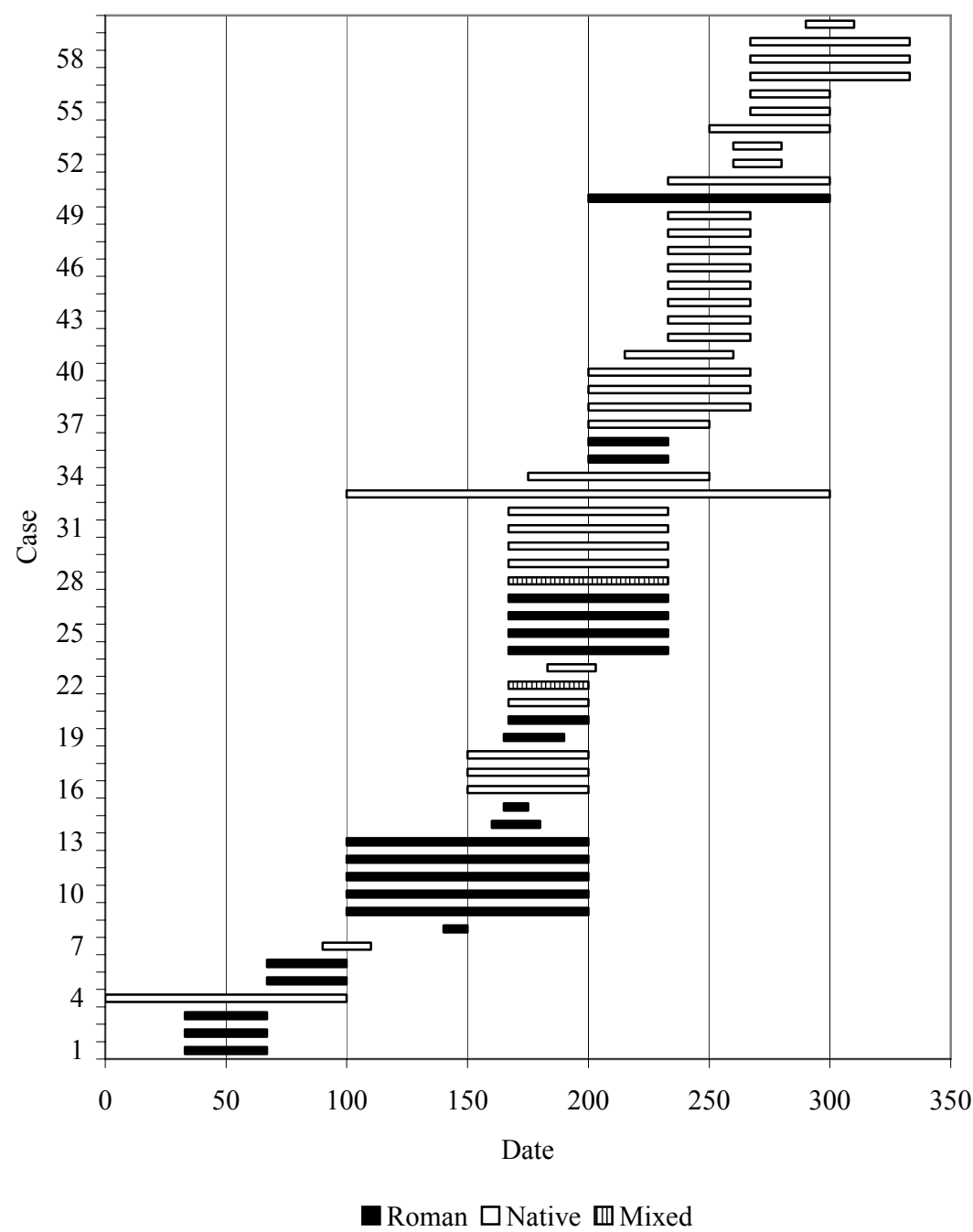


Table 6: Individual female portraits comparing the chronological distribution of Roman, native and mixed ensembles



2.2. Middle Rhine area

Table 7: Individual male portraits comparing the chronological distribution of Roman and native ensembles (there were no mixed ensembles in this category)

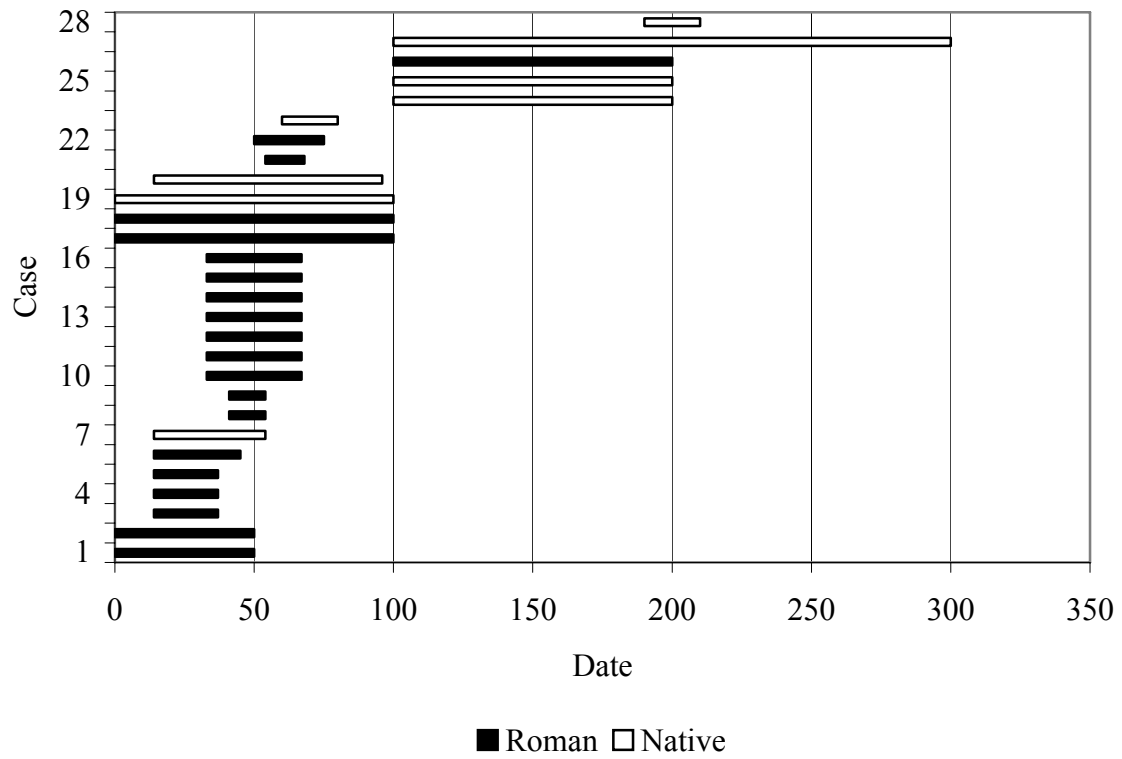
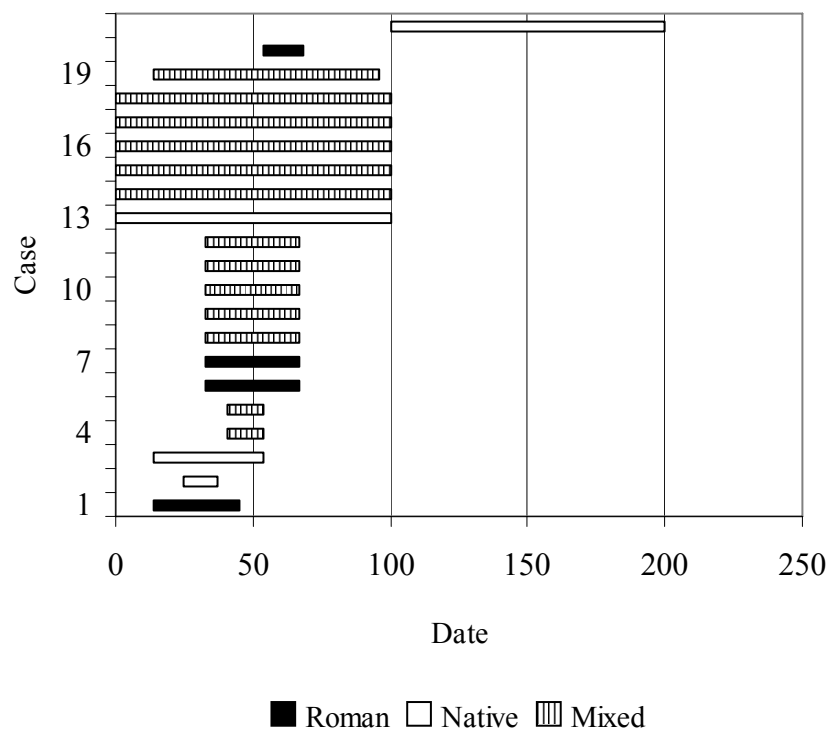


Table 8: Individual female portraits comparing the chronological distribution of Roman, native and mixed ensembles



2.3. Ubian area

Table 9: Individual male portraits comparing the chronological distribution of Roman, native and mixed ensembles

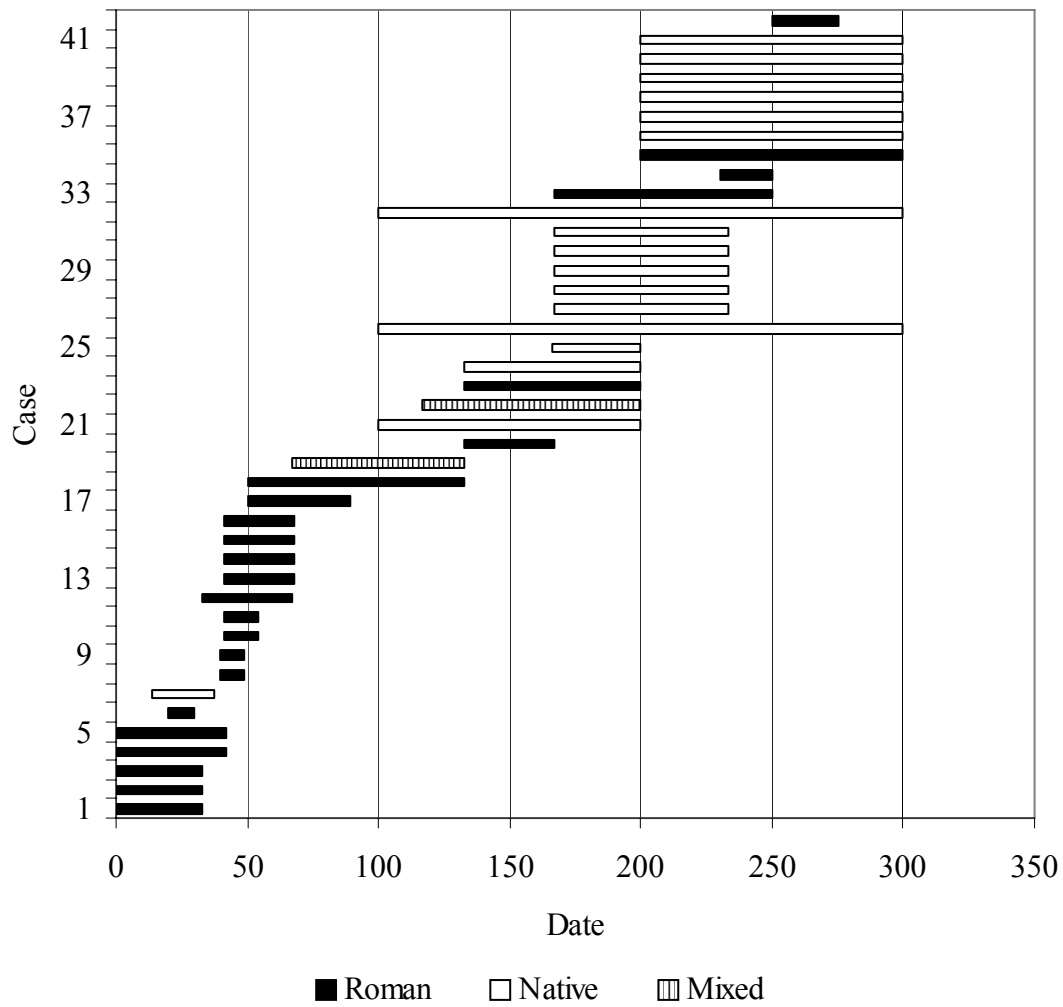
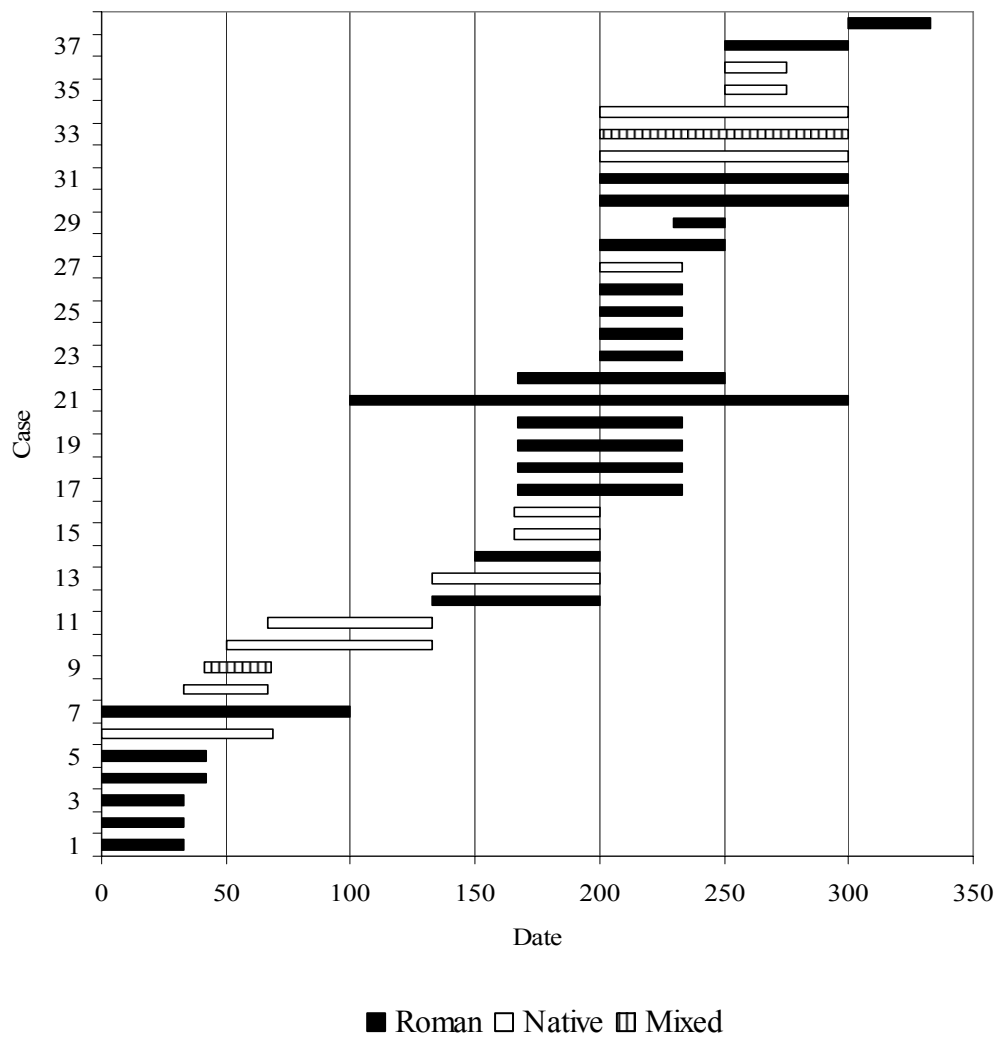


Table 10: Individual female portraits comparing the chronological distribution of Roman, native and mixed ensembles



3. Frequency of garments: geographical

In this section, an attempt is made to portray broad trends in dress behaviour on portraits from a geographical point of view within the three areas. Single portrait depictions are again the base unit, but undated stones could also be included, unlike in the previous section. Again, depictions on which clothing is unclear have been omitted. The real numbers of stones in each category are given in brackets behind the percentages in each table and are taken into account in the discussion of the results.

The geographical distribution and large number of stones in the Treveran and Ubian areas meant that more categories could be created for these areas than for the Middle Rhine area. Table 11 compares the dress behaviour on portraits from the Treveran area's two urban locations, Arlon and Trier, with the rest of the area. Table 12 compares Arlon and Trier and Table 13 compares the results from Trier with the rest of the *civitas*. As the stones from Neumagen are widely believed to have come from Trier,⁸³⁹ these have been treated as Trier stones.

The smaller number of stones in the Middle Rhine area meant that only two pairs of geographical categories were useful. A pronounced polarisation of findspots in the Middle Rhine area in and around Koblenz in the north on the one hand, and in and around Mainz in the south on the other, justifies a comparison between these two agglomerations, which are compared in Table 14. Table 15 compares dress behaviour on portraits from the Middle Rhine area's only large urban location, Mainz, with the rest of the area.

It was possible to create three pairs of geographical categories for the Ubian area, as the area possessed two large urban centres: Cologne and Bonn. Table 16 compares the dress behaviour on portraits from these two locations with the rural rest of the area. Table 17 compares Cologne and Bonn and Table 18 compares the results from Cologne with the rest of the area.

⁸³⁹ See section 'Representativeness of the grave monuments' in chapter 3 above.

3.1. Treveran area

Percentage of individual portrait depictions with Roman, native and mixed ensembles (real numbers in brackets)

Table 11a: Town (Arlon, Trier):

<i>Male</i>			<i>Female</i>		
Roman	Native	Mixed	Roman	Native	Mixed
34% (22)	66% (43)	% (0)	33% (15)	63% (29)	4% (2)

Table 11b: Country (all other sites):

<i>Male</i>			<i>Female</i>		
Roman	Native	Mixed	Roman	Native	Mixed
6% (1)	78% (14)	17% (3)	40% (4)	50% (5)	10% (1)

Table 12a: Arlon:

<i>Male</i>			<i>Female</i>		
Roman	Native	Mixed	Roman	Native	Mixed
14% (5)	86% (30)	% (0)	24% (6)	68% (17)	8% (2)

Table 12b: Trier:

<i>Male</i>			<i>Female</i>		
Roman	Native	Mixed	Roman	Native	Mixed
57% (17)	43% (13)	0% (0)	43% (9)	57% (12)	0% (0)

Table 13a: Trier:

<i>Male</i>			<i>Female</i>		
Roman	Native	Mixed	Roman	Native	Mixed
57% (17)	43% (13)	0% (0)	43% (9)	57% (12)	0% (0)

Table 13b: All other sites:

<i>Male</i>			<i>Female</i>		
Roman	Native	Mixed	Roman	Native	Mixed
11% (6)	83% (44)	6% (3)	29% (10)	63% (22)	9% (3)

3.2. Middle Rhine area

Percentage of individual portrait depictions with Roman, native and mixed ensembles (real numbers in brackets)

Table 14a: Northern half (Koblenz, Andernach, Nickenich, Kruf)

<i>Male</i>			<i>Female</i>		
Roman	Native	Mixed	Roman	Native	Mixed
67% (8)	33% (4)	0% (0)	13% (1)	13% (1)	75% (6)

Table 14b: Southern half (Mainz, Mainz-Weisenau, Selzen, Ingelheim, Bingerbrück, Bad Kreuznach):

<i>Male</i>			<i>Female</i>		
Roman	Native	Mixed	Roman	Native	Mixed
75% (15)	25% (5)	0% (0)	20 % (3)	33% (5)	47% (7)

Table 15a: Town (Mainz, Mainz-Weisenau):

<i>Male</i>			<i>Female</i>		
Roman	Native	Mixed	Roman	Native	Mixed
67% (8)	33% (4)	0% (0)	0% (0)	83% (5)	17% (1)

Table 15b: Country (all other sites):

<i>Male</i>			<i>Female</i>		
Roman	Native	Mixed	Roman	Native	Mixed
75% (15)	25% (5)	0% (0)	24 % (4)	6% (1)	71% (12)

3.3. Ubian area

Percentage of individual portrait depictions with Roman, native and mixed ensembles (real numbers in brackets)

Table 16a: Town (Cologne, Bonn):

<i>Male</i>			<i>Female</i>		
Roman	Native	Mixed	Roman	Native	Mixed
50% (18)	47% (17)	3% (1)	63% (24)	32 % (12)	5% (2)

Table 16b: Country (all other sites):

<i>Male</i>			<i>Female</i>		
Roman	Native	Mixed	Roman	Native	Mixed
75% (6)	25% (2)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	100% (1)

Table 17a: Cologne (Cologne, Cologne-Weiden, Cologne-Deutz):

<i>Male</i>			<i>Female</i>		
Roman	Native	Mixed	Roman	Native	Mixed
54% (15)	43% (12)	4% (1)	70% (23)	24% (8)	6% (2)

Table 17b: Bonn:

<i>Male</i>			<i>Female</i>		
Roman	Native	Mixed	Roman	Native	Mixed
38% (3)	63% (5)	0% (0)	20% (1)	80% (4)	0% (0)

Table 18a: Cologne (Cologne, Cologne-Weiden, Cologne-Deutz):

<i>Male</i>			<i>Female</i>		
Roman	Native	Mixed	Roman	Native	Mixed
54% (15)	43% (12)	4% (1)	70% (23)	24% (8)	6% (2)

Table 18b: All other sites:

<i>Male</i>			<i>Female</i>		
Roman	Native	Mixed	Roman	Native	Mixed
56% (9)	44% (7)	0% (0)	17% (1)	67% (4)	17% (1)

APPENDIX III

Roman grave monuments: dating and typology

The dating of the monuments in the catalogue

As Hope has pointed out, dating funerary monuments is “fraught with difficulties” and it is not always possible to say with any degree of certainty when a monument was constructed.⁸⁴⁰ A number of different methods have been applied in order to date the stones in our region. One of the most accurate devices is unfortunately also the least frequently possible: archaeological context, including the funerary remains themselves. These are almost always lacking as virtually all our stones were removed from their original positions before they were found. Where an inscription is present, the type of lettering, the quality of the Latin, the style of ornamentation and the formulation of the text give some clues. Voting tribe and filiation are useful, but rarely stated after mid 1st cent., and certain names, especially those linked to imperial families, can often be used to construct a *terminus post quem*. The inscription can also contain other information useful for dating such as consuls, particular events or military units whose station at a given time is known.⁸⁴¹

These epigraphic criteria have been of most value for dating stones from the Rhine settlements where inscriptions are often preserved. They have, however, been of limited value in the Treveran area, where most of the stones are fragments and have not been retrieved with their inscriptions. Moreover, those inscriptions that have survived tend to contain less useful dating information (consuls, military units) than on the Rhine. The independent and idiosyncratic development of funerary sculpture in the Treveran area has also presented difficulties for those using comparative stylistic criteria to date stones.

As a result, scholars have had to use the figurative depictions themselves to date the Treveran stones. Most commonly, hairstyles, especially those of women, have been used when they copy fashions in Rome. The extent to which this can be exploited is, however, limited, because most of the women depicted on gravestones wore simple hairstyles that are difficult to date, or bonnets covering most or all of their hair.⁸⁴² Approximate dating can be achieved using the style of draping the toga, if worn.⁸⁴³ Finally, in some cases the type of monument can give a rough indication of date. Sarcophagi, for example, are known to only have appeared in the 2nd cent.⁸⁴⁴

Scholars have occasionally disagreed on the precise dating of monuments in the catalogue, usually as a result of using differing criteria. In such cases, the catalogue lists all possible datings cited in the literature, so far as they have not been entirely disqualified by subsequent discoveries. The time frames used in the chronological analysis take in the extent of the period to which the stone has been dated by the various scholars.

Types of Roman-style grave monuments in the region

It is necessary to give a brief overview of the types of funerary monuments that form that base of this study in order to be clear about what is meant when the various terms are used and to give a better idea of the character of the source type. The simplified typology that follows is based on more detailed classifications undertaken in earlier studies by Weynand, Klinkenberg and Hahl, modified by van Doorselaer and Gabelmann in the 1960s and 1970s, Andrikopolou-Strack in 1986, and most recently largely reiterated by Willer.⁸⁴⁵

By far the most common funerary monument in our region in the Roman period was a simple sculptured stone, consisting of an inscription and, often, a portrait. These could take the form of small, oblong *cippi*, which rarely featured a portrait, or *arae*, which were virtually cube-shaped and, if at all, usually featured a medallion bust portrait,⁸⁴⁶ or, more commonly, *stelae*. *Stelae* in our area consist usually of an oblong block, higher than they are wide, and wider than they are deep. The upper part is often mounted by a triangular or circular pediment. Most *stelae* carry a niche portrait above the inscription and are decorated with figurative motifs. Some portrait *stelae* were several metres tall, but most stood under two metres. All of the above types were used from the early 1st until the early 4th cent.

A more elaborate type of monument that appears in our region is the grave pillar, which was a tall, rectangular column. Grave pillars usually consist of tiers of relief scenes on several or all sides of the stone, and usually include approximately life-sized standing niche portraits. They show a similar dating distribution to the *stelae*:

⁸⁴⁰ Hope 2001, 91.

⁸⁴¹ For a detailed discussion of the different aspects and problems of dating funerary monuments see Hope 2001, Appendix 3, 101-106.

⁸⁴² See Freigang 2000, 124; Hatt 1986, 9ff.

⁸⁴³ See the description of the toga in section a) of ‘Garment descriptions’ in chapter 4.

⁸⁴⁴ See Hope 2001, 102.

⁸⁴⁵ Weynand 1902; Klinkenberg 1902; Hahl 1937; Schoppa 1959; 1963; van Doorselaer 1967; Gabelmann 1972; Andrikopolou-Strack 1986; Willer 2005. For a detailed typology of funerary monuments in the Roman Empire in general see Hesberg 1992.

⁸⁴⁶ Noelke has characterised the *ara* as a more restrained and pious form of grave monument. It was relatively popular on the Rhine but virtually unheard of in Treveran area. He has suggested this was because medallion portrait stones were popular in Noricum, Pannonia, Dacia and Dalmatia, and that they were ‘brought’ by soldiers who had been stationed there to the Rhine (Noelke 1996a, 96f. with further literature).

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from the 1st to the 3rd cent.⁸⁴⁷ The smallest have been reconstructed as five or six metres high, while the largest known pillar in our area, which is also the only one still intact and in its original position, the Igel pillar, stands at 23 metres.⁸⁴⁸ Grave pillars are particularly frequent in the Treveran area and it has been argued that this is where they originated, possibly, as van Doorselaer has suggested, as enlarged versions of the *stelae*,⁸⁴⁹ before spreading east to the Rhineland.⁸⁵⁰ Very few of them have been found intact as their sheer size made them worthwhile sources of building material for later generations. As such, the vast majority of what remains of these pillars consists of individual block fragments that are often difficult to reunite with one another. For this reason, some of the fragments that are treated separately in the catalogue could conceivably belong together.

A third type, the burial chamber, was relatively rare in our region. These were usually built half underground and were covered by a vault, with or without a passage of access. They often included niches in the walls where portraits of the deceased could be placed. Examples in our area have been uncovered at Cologne-Weiden,⁸⁵¹ Igel-Grütenhäuschen, Ehrang and Trier (Sankt Mathias).⁸⁵²

The fourth main type, the sarcophagi, started to appear in our region in the 2nd cent. Their use continued past the end of the chronology of this study. However, the earliest examples show a transition from the previous funerary sculpture in that they often included niche bust portraits of the deceased, most commonly on the sides of the lid. As such, the information they contain about clothing worn should not be ignored and they are included in the catalogue.

These types, when they can be identified, are useful in that they can give an idea of the financial capacity of the commissioning individual(s). The large grave pillars, for example, will have been vastly more expensive than the *stelae* or *cippi*. Categorisation is most helpful in the Treveran area where both *stelae* and pillars have been found in abundance. It is less useful in the Ubian and Middle Rhine areas where almost all the relief stones were *stelae* or other smaller types. It is relatively easy to acquire an approximate idea of the size of some monuments, even from fragments, by projecting the size of the figures. Stones on which a portrait or fragment of a portrait shows figures that are roughly life-sized or larger or that contain scenes from everyday life indicate a more elaborate stone. Usually, such fragments are categorised as pillars, as these features are common on those pillars that are intact and can only have been accommodated by a large monument. Unfortunately, many fragments are nonetheless impossible to assign to specific monument types, so that only a portion of those in the catalogue

could be classified. Also, many of the Treveran stones have only survived in old drawings and are now lost. Such stones could also not be classed as the drawings do not contain information as to the size of the reliefs drawn. Where it is unclear, the general term ‘monument’ is used in the catalogue.

⁸⁴⁷ Van Doorselaer 1967, 170f.

⁸⁴⁸ T62 in the catalogue with further literature.

⁸⁴⁹ Van Doorselaer 1967, 168. See also van de Weerd 1944, 119ff.

⁸⁵⁰ First Krier/Reinert 1993, 74; also Goethert 2002, 95.

⁸⁵¹ U29-30 in this catalogue.

⁸⁵² Van Doorselaer 1967, 173f. with further literature.

APPENDIX IV

Catalogue

This catalogue encompasses all reliefs on civilian funerary monuments from the Rhine-Moselle region (as defined above in chapter 2) that depict identifiable clothing. As such, reliefs have been omitted which show only a head, an arm or part of a person unclothed or on which the clothing is impossible to identify. Portraits are given in a separate section to everyday life scenes owing to the differing implications of these two types (see chapter 3 above). In cases where both portraits and other scenes appear on the stone, the stone is catalogued as a portrait and the descriptions of the other scenes are included with the portrait in order to keep all details of the stone in one place.

The information is given in the following order ('-' where data is unknown):

Catalogue number: The catalogue numbers are my own running numbers.

Provenance: The stones are arranged according to the towns in which they were found. Exact findspots have not been given because none of the stones, save for a very few exceptions, were found where they originally stood.

Date: Where there is disagreement as to the dating, the different suggestions are put forward followed by references. In the case of some very exact dates, references are also supplied. Some stones are without dates. These are cases where the literature on the stone has omitted, or failed to be able, to date the stone. In some of these cases, I have been able to date the stone according to the clothing or hairstyles depicted. In these cases the reason for my dating is given in brackets.

Measurements: Unless otherwise indicated, of the stone or fragment of the stone as it appears today. If the stone is in easily reconstructable fragments, measurements are for the whole reassembled stone; this is indicated. The measurements are given: height x width x breadth in centimetres. In the case of only one number, height is indicated.

Stone type: S = sandstone, L = limestone.

Stone description: This is not intended as a comprehensive description of the stone, but refers only to the sections of the stone applicable to this study.

Garment codes: These correspond with the garment typology set out in chapter 4 and Appendix II.

Inscription: The editing is generally taken from the most recent literature.

Discussion of the inscription: This section includes onomastic details and any other important information relating to the inscription.

Literature: All known literature mentioning the stone is given. When the stone has appeared in another catalogue with a full list of literature, the reader is referred to that work.

Present location: Oft-cited museum names are abbreviated as set out in the List of Abbreviations. The number after the museum name is the museum's inventory number for that stone.

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Treveran Area:

Portrait Stones:

T1

Trier

1st quarter of 1st cent.

92x54x29

L

Fragment of a *stela* showing a half-figure niche relief portrait of a man wearing a girt *tunica*. Kockel interprets people in this dress as slaves (Kockel 24) and Goethert suggests the stone was made by a wealthy slave owner for a slave he was fond of (Goethert 94). However, the tunic worn on its own was not particularly rare (Cf. Goethert 18; 64f.). Tacitus refers to it as the dress of the masses (*tunicatus populus*) in *Dial.* 7, and in Zimmer's (1982) study of ancient workshop scenes, he sees the *tunica* worn on its own as the dress of the simple artisan or tradesman.

A103

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Kockel 1993, 24; Goethert 2002, 18f., fig. 13; 64f.; 94 & cat. no. 1; RLT 1984, no. 84 with further literature.

RLT 57,10

-

T2

Trier

2nd quarter of 1st cent.

-

L

Various fragments of a *stela* with parts of an inscription and a half-figure niche relief portrait of a man wearing an imperial toga and holding a scroll. Fragments below the inscription suggest a horse and rider scene.

A301,2

ANA[V]V[S - - -] | RI F I[LIVS - - -] A [- - -] N[- - -] | CI I [- - -] BI N[- - -]

Anavus is otherwise known in Hispania and Aquitania (*OPEL* I, 51) and may be Celtic (Weisgerber 347).

Krüger 1911, 26f.; pl. III,5; Weisgerber 1935, 347; Goethert 2002, 19-21, fig. 14a.

RLT 1910,193

CIL XIII 11318

T3

Trier

Mid 1st cent.

200x92x33

L

Severely damaged *stela* showing a full-figure standing niche relief portrait of a couple. The man's legs are bare up to the knees and the sides of a hood are visible at the neck, so he wears a Gallic cape. The woman has her head veiled by a *palla*.

Man: A201; Woman: B203 mode 5

-

Goethert 2002, 33, fig. 41e; 32, fig. 42; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 67 with further literature.

RLT 1905,1

-

T4

Trier

50-60

96x59x26

L

Middle section of a life-sized, standing portrait statue from a large grave pillar showing a man wearing the imperial toga.

A301,2

-

Goethert 2002, 26f.; cat. no. 4.

RLT 1996,68

-

T5

Trier

50-75

70x21x19

L

Small, intact monument in unusual small pillar form with a niche bust relief portrait. Espérandieu interprets this very coarse and badly eroded bust as a woman. It is, however, a man in toga, identifiable by the fold of fabric drawn across the chest.

A301,2

The area for the inscription is blank. Either the stone was unfinished or the text was originally painted on.

Hettner 1893, 78 no. 151; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 41; Goethert 2002, 32, fig. 43.

RLT G40

Espérandieu VI 4998

T6 (plate I)

Trier

60-70

70

L

Headless statuette of a man wearing a *tunica* and imperial toga. (Cf. Andrikopolou-Strack (81) who sees it as a boy because of its size.) It is most likely from a grave monument as it was found in the vicinity of Trier's southern necropolis. The head of a toga statue (T7) was also found close by.

A103, A301,2

-

Andrikopolou-Strack 1986, 36; 81f.; 173 MG26 & pl. 12; Goethert 2002, 27, fig. 28 & cat. no. 5; Freigang 1997a, 283; cat. no. Trev 56 with further literature.

RLT ST 9962

Espérandieu XIV 8404

T7 (plate I)

Trier

Mid-late 1st cent.

45

L

Head of a life-sized portrait statue from a large monument which was attached at the back, probably to a niche. It shows a man wearing a toga drawn over his head (*capite velato*). It is most likely from a grave monument as it was found in the vicinity of Trier's southern ne-

ropolis. The headless statuette (T6) was also found close by. *Togati velati* are otherwise unknown from grave portraits in this region.

A103, A301,2

-

Andrikopolou-Strack 1986, 84f.; 174 MG31 & pl. 13; Goethert 2002, 24f., fig. 22 & cat. no. 3; Freigang 1997a, 283; cat. no. Trev 55 with further literature.

RLT 05,200

Espérandieu VI 5088

T8

In or near Trier

Late 1st cent.

35x24x9

L

Fragment of a *stela* with a half-figure or full-figure niche portrait showing part of a woman wearing a *tunica* and *stola* and the Flavian, piled ringlets hairstyle. She is holding a distaff.

B106, B107

-

Hettner 1893, 80, no. 157; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 136; Goethert 2002, 41, fig. 58.

RLT G23

Espérandieu VI 5056

T9 (plate I)

Trier

Late 1st cent.

66x74x103 (height of figures approx. 120cm)

L

Fragment from a large monument (probably a grave pillar) with a relief portrait scene showing a man, woman and male youth from the waist up facing to the right. The boy wears a Gallic tunic and is reading from a scroll. The man wears the imperial toga. The woman wears a *tunica* and *stola* and *palla* draped over her head. Büttner interpreted it as a wedding scene based on the interpretation of the woman's hair as a wreath. It is, however, the elaborate piled ringlet hairstyle of the Flavian era. Possibly a funeral procession.

Man: A103, A301,2; Woman: B106, B107, B203 mode 5; Boy: A101

-

Hettner 1903, 29 no. 33; Büttner 1961; Marrou 1964, 147 no. 185; Goethert 2002, 39, fig. 54 & note 143 with further literature.

Bischöfliches Dom- und Diözesenmuseum, Trier BM 132

Espérandieu VI 4994

T10

Trier

Early 2nd cent.

37x40x12

L

Fragment of a *stela* showing the bottom half of a standing niche relief portrait of a man wearing a Gallic tunic and a floor-length cloak which hangs down the back and has a curved hem. To the left and below him are the remains of the inscription.

A101, ?

D(IIS) [M(ANIBUS)] | FLAVIVS IV [- - -]

Krüger 1911, 26; pl. III,6; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 40.

RLT 10,462

CIL XIII 11324; Espérandieu VI 5054

T11

Trier

2nd half of 2nd cent.

87x138x46

S

Block fragment from a grave pillar showing the bottom half of a life-sized, standing relief portrait of a man wearing an Antonine toga.

A301,3

-

Goethert 2002, 50, fig. 81; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 48 with further literature.

RLT 1914,1108

Espérandieu VI 4956

T12 (plate I)

Trier

Late 2nd/early 3rd cent.

68x85x85

S

Fragment showing the top half of a standing niche relief portrait of a couple. The woman wears a Gallic tunic and her hair in a low bun. The man wears a hooded Gallic tunic and cape raised by his left arm.

Woman: B101; Man: A101, A201

-

See Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 39 for literature.

RLT 11,1260

Espérandieu VI 5073

T13

Trier

2nd half of 3rd cent.

52x230x83

S

Fragment of a sarcophagus showing a niche bust relief portrait of a couple and the top part of an inscription. The man wears a Gallic tunic with a hood. The woman wears a Gallic tunic and a rectangular cloak folded in a V across her chest.

Man: A101; Woman: B101, B202 mode 7

I[. . .] VI[. . .] ION SATVRNINVS I[. . .] | [. . .] A [. . .] ILL[. . .] CONIV[GI . . .]

Saturninus is a common Latin name (*OPEL* IV, 51f.).

Cüppers 1969, 287, fig. 10; 288 no. 5; 292; Koch/Sichtermann 1982; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 65.

RLT 19,176; 21,406

-

T14

Trier

Late 3rd cent.

57x82x13

S

Whole *cippus* with inscription. At the top, a niche bust relief portrait of a couple. The woman wears a Gallic tunic. The man has a beard and wears a Gallic tunic.

Woman: B101; Man: A101

D(IIS) M(ANIBVS) | MASCELLIONIO | MARCELLINO CON | IVGI D(E)F(VNCTO) SABINIA | DIVTVRNA ET SIBI | VIVA FECIT

Sabinia Diuturna is a Latin name (Weisgerber 303). Marcellinus is Latin, but Mascellionius is Celtic (Weisgerber 315). Perhaps a Celtic version of the Latin Masculus (Freigang 393f.).

Weisgerber 1935, 302-304; 315; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 54 with further literature.

RLT PM 21592

CIL XIII 3733/4; Espérandieu VI 5074

T15

Trier

Circa 270

145x227x102

S

Whole sarcophagus elaborately decorated with cupids and rosettes, with a niche bust relief portrait of a couple on both sides of the lid and relief scenes from everyday life on the ends.

1. Niche portrait: The man's clothing is unclear. The woman wears a Gallic tunic, bonnet and rectangular cloak folded in a V across the chest.

2. Niche portrait: The clothing of both the man and the woman is unclear, but the woman wears a bonnet.

3. Meal scene: A couple sit behind a table laid with bread and fish. The man's clothing is unclear. The woman wears a Gallic tunic and bonnet. Two servants in girt Gallic tunics bring dishes.

4. Riding scene: Clothing unclear.

1: Woman: B101, B202 mode 7, B701

2: Woman: B701

3: Woman: B101, B701; Servants: A101 (x2)

The area for the inscription is blank. Either the stone was unfinished or the text was originally painted on.

Weisgerber 1935, 303; RLT 1983, 357f. no. 325; 1984, 170f.; 178; 205f.; 209 no. 95, fig. 95; Heinen 1985, 282, fig. 101; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 64 with further literature.

Trier, St. Matthias, Albana-Gruf

-

T16 (plate I)

Trier

Late 3rd/early 4th cent.

52x184x27

S

Sarcophagus lid showing a half-figure niche relief portrait of a family flanked by relief scenes from everyday life.

1. Portrait: A couple and a young man. The two men wear Gallic tunics. The older man has a short beard and also wears a Gallic cape. The woman wears a Gallic tunic with rectangular cloak folded in a V across her chest and the hairstyle of Tranquillina.

2. Left scene: A man and a woman wearing Gallic tunics greet four people who are walking towards them carrying

objects (landlord receiving produce from tenants).

3. Right scene: Four men in girt Gallic tunics working in a field and carrying produce in a large basket. Presumably a harvest scene, probably of grapes (Cüppers/Laufner/Faas).

1: Men: A101 (x2), A201; Woman: B101, B202 mode 7

2: Men: A101 (x5); Woman: B101

3: A101 (x4)

-

Koethe 1935, 226, fig. 32; Wild 1968b, 173; Cüppers/Laufner/Faas 1987, no. 26; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 34 with further literature.

RLT G 3

Espérandieu VI 4974

T17

Trier

Late 3rd/early 4th cent.

53x45x17

L

Top fragment of a *stela* showing a niche bust relief portrait of a couple. The quality of the work is poor, but the V-shaped cuts in the stones across both of the figures' chests strongly suggest a Gallic cape for the man and a rectangular cloak folded in a V across the chest for the woman. The woman is also wearing a Gallic bonnet.

Man: A201; Woman: B101, B202 mode 7, B701

D(IIS) M(ANIBUS) | AFRICANAE | AFRAE [- - -]

Africana and Afra are Latin names (*OPEL* I 50, Weisgerber).

Hettner 1880, 22; 1893, 79 no. 154; Weisgerber 1935, 303; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. 57 with further literature.

RLT PM 1182

CIL XIII 3714; Espérandieu VI 5012

T18

Trier

4th cent.

69x116x13

L

Fragment of a large *stela* showing a seated niche relief portrait of a man writing on a scroll with a child/slave to his right wearing a Gallic tunic. He wears a Gallic tunic and *sagum* fastened on the shoulder with a (crossbow?) brooch.

Child/Slave: A101; Man: A101, A205

-

RLT 1984, 208f. & no. 94, fig. 94; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 59 with further literature.

RLT 63,61

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T19 (plate I)

Trier

-

-

-

This stone, now lost, is only preserved in a drawing by Wiltheim. It is the top fragment of a block, possibly from a sarcophagus, showing a bare space for an inscription flanked by tendril ornamentation and the half-figure portraits of a man and woman facing sideways. The

woman wears a rectangular cloak draped around the neck and shoulders and a Gallic bonnet with an unusual band around the forehead. The man has a beard, wears a Gallic tunic and holds a purse.

Woman: B202 mode 4, B701; Man: B101

The area for the inscription is blank. Either the stone was unfinished or the text was originally painted on.

Wiltheim 1841, 168 & pl. XXVII no. 98; Wild 1985, 392.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4159

T20 (plate II)

Arlon

Mid 1st cent.

50x58x37

L

Fragment of a *stela* showing a half-figure niche relief portrait of a woman wearing a *tunica* and *palla* over the left shoulder and across the front. Her hair is dressed in the ringlet style of the Claudian period. She is holding the hand of a man who is reclining to her left. All that is visible of him are his hand and forearm and part of his toga. Sibenaler (61) interpreted it as a scene of a woman visiting a doctor. This has been rejected in favour of an interpretation as a meal scene or a farewell between a married couple (Mariën 109, Bertrang, Andrikopolou-Strack 129f.).

Woman: B106, B203 mode 1; Man: A301,2

-

Sibenaler 1905, 60ff. no. 27; Mariën 1945b, 108ff. & fig. 44; Bertrang 1954, 38; Andrikopolou-Strack 1986, 72f.; 129f.; 185 U2 & pl. 11.

Mus. Lux., Arlon GR/S 019 (59)

Espérandieu V 4020

T21 (plate II)

Arlon

Mid 1st cent.

76x101x52

L

Block fragment, probably from a grave pillar showing, on the front, the middle section of a life-sized, full-figure standing relief portrait of a couple. The woman wears a *tunica* and *palla* and the man a *tunica* and the imperial toga. A man in Oriental dress on the side is likely to represent Attis. Similarities in style led Mariën to believe the stone either came from workshops at Mainz or was made by a mason from Mainz working in Arlon, hence also the dating as Claudian.

Man: A103, A301,2; Woman: B106, B203

-

Mariën, 1945b, 100ff. & fig. 42; Andrikopolou-Strack 1986, 45f.; 64; 71; 108f.; 180 N5 & pl. 9 & 26; Freigang 1997a, cat. Trev. 88 with further literature.

Mus. Lux., Arlon GR/S 018 (63)

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T22

Arlon

1st cent.

-

-

Fragment, now lost and only preserved in a drawing by Wiltheim. It shows a full or half-figure relief portrait of a woman wearing a Gallic tunic. A bulge around the neck is difficult to identify: a scarf? a hood? She wears the coronet hairstyle of the mid 1st cent. Almost certainly one half of a portrait of a couple.

B101

-

Wiltheim 1841, 231 & pl. LVII no. 218.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4110

T23 (plate II)

Arlon

Circa 100

-

-

Fragment, now lost and only preserved in a drawing by Wiltheim. It shows a full-figure standing niche relief portrait of a family. The two men have full beards and wear Gallic tunics and capes. To the right, the shoulder and forearm of a woman is visible before the stone breaks away. She wears a Gallic tunic and rectangular cloak around her shoulders.

Men: A101 (x2), A201 (x2); Woman: B101, B202 mode 1

-

Wiltheim 1841, 253 & pl. LXVI. For further literature see Espérandieu.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4039

T24 (plate III)

Arlon

150-200

108x76x70

L

Fragment of a grave pillar with standing niche portraits, one on the front and one on the left side. On the right side two meal relief scenes. On the back, a rabbit playing with a curtain.

1. Front: A couple holding hands. The woman wears a Gallic tunic with a fringe along the hem and a rectangular cloak over her shoulders and arms. She wears a strange, pointed bonnet. The man wears a Gallic tunic and cape and has a beard.

2. Left: A couple. The woman wears a Gallic tunic with a rectangular cloak hanging with a sharp point in the middle. She is holding a jewellery box. Her husband wears a Gallic tunic and cape brought up at the front by his arms. He has a beard and holds a purse.

3. Two meal scenes:

Top: Seated around a table with food on it are one woman and two men. The woman wears a Gallic tunic and rectangular cloak around her shoulders and a Gallic bonnet. The men wear Gallic tunics. A woman standing behind the first, seated woman wearing a Gallic tunic and bonnet is perhaps a servant bringing food.

Bottom: Five children in Gallic tunics playing and eating, crouched around a pot of food on the floor. A dog is sitting next to the pot and one of the children is playing a

flute.

1: Woman: B101, B202 mode 2, pointed bonnet; Man: A101, A201

2: Woman: B101, B202 mode 6 (without tassel); Man: A101, A201

3: Women: B101 (x2), B202 mode 1, B701 (x2); Men: A101 (x2); Children: A101 (x5)

-

Mariën 1945b, 80ff. & fig. 30; Böhme 1985, 432; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev. 102 with further literature.

La Cour d'Or, Musées de Metz

Espérandieu V 4097

T25

Arlon

165-170

78x85x68 (overall height approx. 4m)

L

Top three quarters of a standing niche relief portrait of a couple from a grave pillar, with a dancing figure in a niche on the side face. The man is bearded and wears a Gallic tunic and cape and is holding a scroll. His hair is quite long. The woman wears the typical hairstyle of Faustina Minor. Her clothing is unclear.

Man: A101, A201

-

Mariën 1945b, 39ff. & fig. 6.

Mus. Lux., Arlon

Espérandieu V 4038/4056

T26 (plate II)

Arlon

165-175

82x99x77. Whole monument 4-5m high (Mariën 43)

L

Block fragment from a large *stela* showing the top three quarters of standing niche relief portraits of a couple on the front and a single person on each side.

1. Front: Couple standing in an elaborately decorated niche. The woman wears a *tunica* and *palla* draped over her head. She is holding up what seems to be a (wedding?) ring in one hand, and a jewellery box in the other. Her hairstyle is that of Faustina Minor. The man is dressed in a Gallic tunic and cape. He has a beard and holds a bundle of *codices*.

2. Left side: A woman; clothing unclear (surface damaged).

3. Right side: A man wearing a Gallic tunic and cape and carrying a scroll. Mariën believes he looks quite young (42) and interprets the two figures on the sides as the children of the couple (43).

1: Woman: B106, B203 mode 5; Man: A101, A201

2: ?

3: A101, A201

D(IIS)M(ANIBVS)

Mariën 1945b, 41ff.; Bertrang 1954, 39f.; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 83 with further literature.

Mus. Lux., Arlon GR/S 023 (12)

CIL XIII 4025; Espérandieu V 4045; ILB 118

T27

Arlon

175-185

70x50x46. Whole monument approx. 4m high (Mariën 57)

L

Fragment of a large *stela* showing the top half of a standing niche relief portrait of a man on the front and relief scenes from everyday life on the side.

1. Front: A man wearing a Gallic tunic and cape and holding a bundle of *codices*. His head is broken away.

2. All that remains of a lower scene is a head. An upper scene shows a man, presumably the deceased, riding a horse wearing a Gallic tunic and a wide cape. He has a short beard.

1: A101, A201

2: A101, A201

-

Mariën 1945b, 56ff.; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 93 with further literature.

Mus. Lux., Arlon

Espérandieu V 4046

T28 (plate II)

Arlon

Late 2nd cent.

131x74x65

L

Block fragment from a large *stela* showing a standing high relief (almost statue) niche portrait of a couple with Dionysian figures on the sides. The woman wears a *tunica*, *palla* draped around her hips and over her left shoulder and a Gallic bonnet. She holds a jewellery box and *mappa*. The man wears a Gallic tunic and cape.

Woman: B106, B203 mode 6; Man: A101, A201

-

Mertens 1973, 15ff. & fig. 10; 12; 14-15; Böhme 1985, 431; Nerzic 1989, 257; Lefèbvre 1990, 50ff., fig. 53 no. 24; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 92 with further literature.

Mus. Lux., Arlon GR/S 025

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T29

Arlon

Late 2nd cent.

90x92x52. Whole monument approx. 6-7m high (Mariën 39)

L

Fragment of a grave pillar showing standing niche portraits on the front and side. Other members of the family were probably depicted in similar separate niche portraits that are now lost (Mariën 38).

1. Front: A man wearing a Gallic tunic and cape from the thighs down surrounded by a border of cupids, satyrs, dancers and other figures.

2. Side: The right, bottom part of a standing niche portrait of a man wearing a Gallic tunic and cape, bordered by similar figures.

1: A101, A201

2: A101, A201

-

Mariën 1945b, 35ff. & fig. 5.

Mus. Lux., Arlon

-

T30 (plate IV)

Arlon

Late 2nd/early 3rd cent.

109x86x61

L

Fragment of a grave pillar showing a standing niche relief portrait of a couple on the front and relief scenes from everyday life on the sides.

1. Portrait: Woman wearing Gallic tunic with undergarment, a bonnet and a *palla* draped around the hips. She holds a jewellery box and *mappa*. The man is bearded, wearing a Gallic tunic and cape and is holding a billhook.
2. Top: Market scene showing baskets of produce (apples?) being sold by two figures wearing 3rd-cent. Gallic tunics. A man approaches the stand wearing a Gallic tunic and cape.

Bottom: Two men working with a spade and hoe. They are wearing girt 3rd-cent. Gallic tunics.

3. Top: A man driving a wagon pulled by one horse. He wears a Gallic tunic.

Bottom: Another market scene. Produce in a basket being sold by a man in a Gallic tunic to another man in a Gallic tunic.

1: Woman: B101, B102, B203 mode 4, B701; Man: A101, A201

2: Market scene: A101 (x2), A101, A201; Agricultural scene: A101 (x2)

3: Wagon scene: A101; Market scene: A101 (x2)

[D(IIS)] M(ANIBVS)

Sibenaler 1905, 72ff.; Schlippschuh 1974, 37f.; Heinen 1985, 124, fig. 35; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 79 with further literature.

Mus. Lux., Arlon GR/S 049 (232, 233, 198)

CIL XIII 4027; Espérandieu V 4044; ILB 119

T31 (plate IV)

Arlon

Late 2nd/early 3rd cent.

125x91x60

L

Block fragment from a large monument (possibly a grave pillar – Mariën) showing a standing niche relief portrait of two men and a woman on the front and a muse and a philosopher on the two sides. On the front, the two men wear identical Gallic tunics and capes. One has a beard and holds *codices*, the other is clean-shaven and holds a scroll. A woman stands on the left wearing a *tunica* and *palla* draped over her head. She is holding the younger man's hand.

Woman: B106, B203 mode 5; Men: A101 (x2), A201 (x2)

SECVNDIVS ATTIA | NVS ET CENSORINIA M[ATER] | TRAVSVS CO[N]I[VGI ET] FILI[O] DEF[VNCTIS]

Attianus and Censorinia are Latin names (Freigang 390; 397; Weisgerber 302f.). Secundus is Latin, although very common in Gaul (Freigang 397). The origins of Trausus are uncertain (Freigang 1997a, 398). *ILB* and *OPEL* (III, 66) interpret it as Matrausus. Both are unknown (Freigang 398). Trausus may be a Latinised form of Drauso (*ILB* 102 & 39).

Weisgerber 1935, 302f.; Mariën 1945b, 78ff.; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 82 with further literature.

Mus. Lux., Arlon GR/S 022 DC 002 bis

ILB 102

T32

Arlon

Early 3rd cent.

59x102x75. Whole monument approx. 5m high (Mariën 48)

L

Fragment from the top part of a grave pillar showing part of the inscription with the arc of a portrait niche below it on the front and a decorative frieze with relief scenes from everyday life on the sides.

1. In the arc of the arched niche is another small niche showing the bust of a woman with the hairstyle of Julia Domna.

2. Left side: Family meal scene. Two people reclining and two people (one is a woman) sitting with their feet on footstools around a table. The two reclining figures are drinking a toast. Two servants approach carrying food and drink. All wear Gallic tunics.

3. Right side: A man in a horse-drawn wagon with another man and a dog behind him. The latter are interpreted by Mariën (47) as a servant and his master's dog. Both men wear Gallic tunics.

1: ?

2: A101 (x4), B101 (x2)

3: A101 (x2)

[SEC]VNDINI[VS] SECCAL[VS SEC] | [VN]DINAE CON[IVGI] ET SECCALIA[E SEC] | [V]NDINAE F[ILIAE] ET S[IBI] VIVOS FE[CIT]

The name Secundus and versions thereof are Latin, but common in Gaul, but Seccalus is Celtic (Freigang 397; *ILB* 101; Raepsaet-Charlier 377). It and similar versions of it are only known in Belgica and the Germanies (*OPEL* IV, 56f.).

Weisgerber 1935, 319; 352; Mariën 1945b, 45ff.; Raepsaet-Charlier 2001a, 377; 391; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 86 with further literature.

Mus. Lux., Arlon

Espérandieu V 4041

T33 (plate V)

Arlon

215 (Baltzer); 240-260 (Mariën)

154x101x72

L

Block fragment from a large monument (possibly a grave pillar – Mariën 31) showing a standing niche relief portrait of two men and a woman on the front and four relief scenes from everyday life on the sides.

1. Front: Standing portrait of two men wearing Gallic tunics with fringes along the hem and Gallic capes. The man on the left holds a bundle of *codices*. The one on the right holds a purse. They are standing either side of a woman wearing a fringed 3rd-cent. Gallic tunic and a cloak draped loosely around the shoulders and across the front with a corner falling down the front with a tassel on the end. She holds a little flask and a *mappa*.

2. Left side top: Shop scene showing a seated man in a

Gallic tunic, *sagum* and trousers. Bertrang interpreted him as a quality inspection officer (68), but the clothing points to him being a soldier (as originally Mariën 32). The wide sash commonly worn under the *cingulum* is clearly visible. He also has a weapon in his lap. The soldier is inspecting a piece of fabric on a desk being shown him by a man in a Gallic tunic. Another person assists, their clothing is unclear. In the background, shelves of folded fabric.

Left side bottom: Office scene showing a man in a Gallic tunic sitting at a desk writing in a large *codex*. A pile of coins lie on the desk in front of him. Two men in Gallic tunics stand at the desk. The man sitting may be the owner of the business or a clerk counting and recording the profits and/or paying his staff.

3. Right side top: A man in a Gallic tunic driving a wagon pulled by two horses with a tree in the background. Although Freigang sees this as a leisurely drive (Freigang 328) it is more likely to be a business trip in view of the fact that all the other scenes are from business life (see also Bertrang 68).

Right side bottom: A wago pulled by two horses, presumably laden with goods, passes through a gateway where a man stands wearing a Gallic cape. He may be a workman monitoring the arrival or departure of goods.

1. Men: A101 (x2), A201 (x2); Woman: B101, B202 mode 6

2: Top: Man seated: A101, A205, A401, Man standing: A101; Bottom: A101 (x3)

3: Top: A101; Bottom: A101, A201

-

Mariën 1945b, 30ff.; Bertrang 1954, 67f.; Baltzer 1983, 38; 99 no. 34; fig. 66; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 80 with further literature.

Mus. Lux., Arlon GR/S 047 (238, 236)

Espérandieu V 4043

T34 (plate V)

Arlon

Early-mid 3rd cent.

102x60x50

L

Fragment of a grave pillar showing a standing niche relief portrait of a couple. The woman wears a 3rd-cent. Gallic tunic with a fringe along the hem and a cloak draped around her left shoulder and back, under the right arm and supported by her left hand. The corner of the cloak hangs down with a tassel. She holds a perfume flask. The man wears a Gallic tunic and cape brought up at the front by his arms. He is holding *codices* and has quite long hair. On the sides of the stone, naked dancers, one of which wears a Gallic bonnet.

Woman: B101, B202 mode 6; Man: A101, A201

-

Bertrang 1954, 65 no. 45.

Mus. Lux., Arlon GR/S 028 (65)

-

T35 (plate VI)

Arlon

Early 3rd cent. (Baltzer); Mid 3rd cent. (Mariën)

76x87x58

L

Block fragment from a grave pillar showing the bottom half of a standing niche relief portrait of a couple on the front and a relief scene from everyday life on the side.

1. Front: A man wearing a Gallic tunic with a fringe along the hem. His wife was portrayed to his right, but is broken away except for the bottom right hand part of her fringed Gallic tunic.

2. Side: A man in a Gallic tunic sits at a desk emptying the contents of a purse onto the table and viewing the figure standing at his desk. The figure, in a hooded cape, leans on the desk with one elbow and hand raised in a gesture of conversation, while the other hand holds a walking stick. He has quite coarse facial features which have led Mariën (77f.) and Bertrang (66) to interpret him as a peasant paying his rent to the landowner. His gesticulation is thus interpreted as protest at the price he is paying.

1: Man: A101; Woman: B101

2: A101, A201

-

Mariën 1945b, 77f.; Bertrang 1954, 66; Baltzer 1983, 99 no. 33, fig. 65; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 84 with further literature.

Mus. Lux., Arlon GR/S 050

Espérandieu V 4037

T36

Arlon

Mid 3rd cent.

143x123x55

-

Fragment of a *stela* showing part of a standing niche relief portrait of two couples. The men are stood on the outside and are wearing Gallic tunics (the one on the left with a fringe along the hem) and Gallic capes, brought up at the front by the arms. The man on the left holds a scroll. The women wear 3rd-cent. Gallic tunics with fringes along the hem and cloaks draped over the left shoulder and back, under the right arm and supported by the left hand. The woman on the right has a corner of the cloak hanging down with a tassel. The hair is brought up in a bun at the back. Both women wear Gallic bonnets. The women on the left holds a *mappa*. The woman on the right holds a perfume flask. Dionysian scenes adorn both sides of the stone.

Men: A101 (x2), A201 (x2); Women: B101 (x2), B202 (x2) mode 6 & mode 8, B701 (x2)

-

Mariën 1945b, 104ff.; Wild 1968b, 173, fig. 3; Wild 1985, 392; Böhme 1985, 434 note 58; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 81 with further literature.

Mus. Lux., Arlon

Espérandieu V 4040

T37 (plate VI)

Arlon

Mid 3rd cent. (clothing, hairstyle)

-

-

Fragment showing a standing niche relief portrait of three men and a woman. The stone, now lost, has only sur-

vived in a drawing by Wiltheim. The woman wears a Gallic tunic and a fringed Gallic cape around her shoulders and supported by her left arm. She holds a *mappa* and a jewellery box and wears the typical hairstyle of the mid 3rd cent. The men wear Gallic tunics and two wear Gallic capes. One holds a scroll and the other two bundles of *codices*.

Woman: B101, B202 mode 8; Men: A101 (x3), A201 (x2)

-

Wiltheim 1841, 253 & pl. LXVI no. 282. For further literature see Espérandieu.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4091

T38 (plates VI and VII)

Arlon

Mid 3rd cent. (hairstyle)

-

-

Block fragment showing standing niche relief portraits on two faces and a relief scene from everyday life on the third. It is now lost and has only survived in a drawing by Wiltheim.

1. Portrait: A young family. The woman wears a Gallic tunic and a rectangular cloak across her shoulders and chest. She holds a bowl of fruit and wears the typical hairstyle of the mid 3rd cent. The man wears a Gallic tunic and cape and holds a large purse. A little boy in a Gallic tunic stands between them holding what seems to be a ball or an apple and a toy.

2. Portrait: A couple. The woman wears a Gallic tunic and rectangular cloak across her shoulders and chest and a Gallic bonnet. She is holding a large flask. The man wears a Gallic tunic and cape. It is unclear what he is holding.

3. Agricultural scene: A man wearing a girt Gallic tunic, shoulder cape and tight cap driving two oxen pulling a plough. In the background a cart and a tree.

1: Woman: B101, B202 mode 2; Man: A101, A201

Child: A101

2: Woman: B101, B202 mode 2, B701; Man: A101, A201

3: A101, A202, A701

-

Wiltheim 1841, 252 & pl. LXVI, LXVII no. 284-286. For further literature see Espérandieu.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4092

T39 (plate VIII)

Arlon

Mid 3rd cent.

84.5x71.5x48.5

L

Fragment of a *stela* showing a standing niche relief portrait of a couple. The heads are broken away. The man wears a Gallic tunic and cape brought up at the front by his arms and holds a purse. The woman wears a Gallic tunic with a fringe along the hem and a rectangular cloak draped around the neck and shoulders. She is holding a small bottle. An early drawing of the stone by Wiltheim

shows the features of the heads: the woman wears a Gallic bonnet and the man has a beard.

Man: A101, A201; Woman: B101, B202 mode 4, B701

-

Wiltheim 1841, 180 & pl. XXXVI no. 138; Wilhelm 1974, no. 290; Wild 1985, pl. I,3; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 140.

Mus. Hist. Art, Lux. 524

Espérandieu V 4178

T40 (plate VII)

Arlon

Circa 300 (hairstyle)

-

-

Fragment showing a standing niche relief portrait of a couple. The stone, now lost, has only survived in a drawing by Wiltheim. The woman wears a Gallic tunic and rectangular cloak around her shoulders. She holds a *mappa* and a perfume flask and wears the hairstyle of the turn of the 3rd/4th centuries. The man wears a Gallic tunic and cape and is holding a purse.

Woman: B101, B202 mode 1; Man: A101, A201

-

Wiltheim 1841, 257 & pl. LXIX no. 294. For further literature see Espérandieu.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4088

T41

Arlon

-

44x104x60

L

Block fragment, probably from a grave pillar, showing part of a standing niche relief portrait of three larger than life-sized figures: one person from the shoulders to the waist and two people either side almost completely broken away. They are three men wearing togas (type unclear).

A301 (x3)

-

Mariën 1945b, 137; Bertrang 1954, 82 no. 12; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 91.

Mus. Lux., Arlon

Espérandieu V 4042

T42 (plate VII)

Arlon

-

-

-

Fragment showing the top part of a standing niche relief portrait of a woman. The stone, now lost, has only survived in a drawing by Wiltheim. The woman wears a tunic of indeterminable type and a *palla* draped over her head.

B203 mode 5

-

Wiltheim 1841, 230 & pl. LVII no. 223. For further literature see Espérandieu.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4059

T43 (plate VII)

Arlon

-
-
-

Fragment showing a portrait relief meal scene. The stone, now lost, has only survived in a drawing by Wiltheim. A man and a woman sit on armchairs with a table laid with food between them. The man wears a Gallic tunic, the woman's clothes are unclear from the drawing. A third figure stands behind the table wearing a Gallic tunic. It is unclear whether the figure is male or female as the head is blank and the table obscures the length of the tunic. It seems likely that the figure is female, as it appears very slender, at least from Wiltheim's drawing.

Man: A101; Woman: B101

-

Wiltheim 1841, 230 & pl. LVII no. 222. For further literature see Espérandieu.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4062

T44 (plate VIII)

Arlon

-
-
-

Fragment showing a portrait relief meal scene. The stone, now lost, has only survived in a drawing by Wiltheim. A woman wearing a Gallic tunic sits on an armchair at a table. A female servant wearing a Gallic tunic pours a drink from a jug into a cup.

B101 (x2)

-

Wiltheim 1841, 230 & pl. LVII no. 221. For further literature see Espérandieu.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4063

T45 (plate VIII)

Arlon

-
-
-

Fragment showing a standing niche relief portrait of a couple. The stone, now lost, has only survived in a drawing by Wiltheim. The woman wears a 3rd-cent. Gallic tunic and a *palla* over the left shoulder and across the front. The man wears a Gallic tunic and cape with a split at the bottom. On the sides of the stone, naked dancers.

Woman: B101, B203 mode 1; Man: A101, A201

-

Wiltheim 1841, 252 & pl. LXV nos 275, 276, 278. For further literature see Espérandieu.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4094

T46 (plate IX)

Neumagen

140-150

220x192x90

L

Badly damaged *stela* showing standing relief portraits of a couple in a split niche. The man wears a toga and has a short beard. The toga seems to be the earlier imperial toga on account of the large collection of folds over the shoulder and the loose style of draping. As such, it is an old-fashioned way of wearing the toga in this period. The middle section is missing, making a more exact identification difficult. The woman wears an unidentifiable tunic and a cloak draped in a way that is neither typically Roman nor Gallic, although it most closely resembles B203 mode 3 (cf. Wild: "Roman matron's attire"). She wears the typical hairstyle of Faustina Maior.

Man: A103, A301,2; Woman: B203 mode 3

C(AIVS) ALBINVS ASPER | SECVNDIAE RESTITVTAE | CONIVGI [ET SIBI] | VIVOS [FECIT]

Massow 1932, no. 4, page 42-46, fig. 23, pl. 1-4; Weisgerber 1935, 302f.; Hahl 1937, pl. 8; Wild 1985, 406, fig. 47; Freigang 1997a, 294; Goethert 2002, 43-45, fig. 60; 63; 64.

RLT 11104

CIL XIII 4158; Espérandieu VI 5150

T47 (plate IX)

Neumagen

160-180

Whole monument over 4m high (Massow)

S

"Negotiatorpfeiler": Various fragments of a large grave pillar.

1. Front: Above the inscription, fragments of a larger than life-sized standing niche relief portrait of a couple. The woman wears a *tunica* and *palla* and the man an Antonine toga.

Side faces:

2. If a drawing by Wiltheim matches the extant stone, the scene shows a bearded man in a hooded tunic with a fringe along the hem sitting on a chair. To his left, a smaller, standing person in a Gallic tunic. They are reading or counting something. Behind them, large jugs with woven covers (probably wine).

3. A person in a Gallic tunic sitting in a chair.

4. Dockworkers wearing Gallic tunics with sleeves rolled up and bands wound around their torsos carrying amphorae with woven covers. In the background, the leg of a man in a short tunic and sandals, perhaps pulling the boat. In the foreground, the head of a bearded man. Von Massow suggests this might be the captain (132).

Espérandieu believes T145 is part of the same monument, von Massow dismisses this possibility on stylistic grounds (132).

1: Man: A301,3; Woman: B106, B203

2: A101 (x2)

3: A101

4: A101 (x3)

[D(HIS)] M(ANIBVS) | [- - -] RNO NEGOTI A | [TOR - - -]

Hettner 1903, 20; Massow 1932, no. 179, page 127-132, fig. 76, pl. 25-26; Koethe 1935, 215; Schlippschuh 1974, 31; Wild 1985, 383.

RLT 9974,116; 10008,111; 26,30; 30,47

CIL XIII 4157; Espérandieu VI 5156, 5222

T48

Neumagen

165-170

60x194x90

S

Fragment showing the bottom leg portion of a life-sized standing niche relief portrait of a man in a toga.

A301

-

Massow 1932, no. 178, page 125f., fig. 75, pl. 24; Numrich 1997, 133; Goethert 2002, 51, fig. 83.

RLT 744

Espérandieu VI 5164

T49

Neumagen

2nd cent.

32x44x26

L

Thigh fragment, probably from a grave pillar, of a life-sized standing niche relief portrait of a man in a toga.

A301

-

Massow 1932, no. 100, page 98, pl. 15.

RLT 11583

-

T50

Neumagen

2nd cent.

44x63x29

L

Calf fragment, probably from a grave pillar, of a standing, larger than life-sized niche relief portrait of a man in a toga.

A301

-

Massow 1932, no. 16, page 80, pl. 13.

RLT 05,367

-

T51

Neumagen

2nd cent.

63x93x67

L

Chest-to-knee fragment of a standing niche relief portrait of a couple. The man wears a toga, the woman a *tunica* and *palla* draped around her hips and over her left shoulder.

Woman: B106, B203 mode 6; Man: A301

-

Massow 1932, no. 17, page 80, pl. 13.

RLT 759

Espérandieu VI 5160

T52

Neumagen

2nd cent.

32.5x31x24

L

Hip fragment of a standing niche relief portrait of a woman wearing a *tunica*.

B106

-

Massow 1932, no. 18, page 80, pl. 13.

RLT 09,835

-

T53

Neumagen

Late 2nd/3rd cent.

26x24x11

S

Head of a life-sized standing niche relief portrait of an old woman (wrinkles around the mouth and nose) wearing an unusual headdress. It is a band of cloth wrapped around the forehead and across the back of the head. One end of the cloth hangs over the ear. Behind the cloth the head is covered by a Gallic bonnet.

B701

-

Massow 1932, no. 208, page 180, fig 118, pl. 43.

RLT 9943

Espérandieu VI 5212

T54

Neumagen

Late 2nd/3rd cent.

22x45x25

S

Small leg fragment, probably from a grave pillar, of a larger than life-sized standing niche relief portrait of a woman wearing a Gallic tunic and rectangular cloak with a fringe along the hem.

B101, B202

-

Massow 1932, no. 210, page 181, pl. 43.

RLT 9922

-

T55

Neumagen

Late 2nd/3rd cent.

15x30x18

S

Leg fragment, probably from a grave pillar, from a life-sized standing niche relief portrait of a man in a Gallic tunic.

A101

-

Massow 1932, no. 200, page 178, pl. 42.

RLT 10886

-

T56 (plate X)

Neumagen

Early 3rd cent.

Whole monument over 10m high (Massow)

S

“Elternpaarpfeiler”: Various fragments of a large pillar monument.

1. Main portrait: A couple holding hands (*dextrarum*

iunctio) with a small child standing between them. The man wears an Antonine toga, has a short, cropped hair-style and beard and is holding a scroll. The woman wears a *tunica* and *palla* over the left shoulder and across the front, but only the middle part of her body is visible. Only the child's head and the side of his clothing is visible.

2. Hunter on horseback wearing a shoulder cape, Gallic tunic, scarf and gaiters. His horse is led by a boy in a long-sleeved 3rd-cent. Gallic tunic.

3. Scene with five figures, one seated reading a large book on his knee, the others standing. Three wear the 3rd-cent. Gallic tunics. One wears leg wrappings. Another is bearded and wears a shoulder cape and a satchel. Because of the latter's attributes and the open book on the first man's knee, both Hettner and von Massow interpret the scene as a farmer paying rent.

4. Woman seated in a woven chair having her hair styled by four female servants, of which only three are visible above the knee. They are wearing 3rd-cent. Gallic tunics. The woman's clothing is not visible as she is draped from shoulder to foot in a large cloak with a fringe along the hem and a long tunic underneath.

1: Man: A103, A301,3; Woman: B106, B203 mode 1

2: Man: A101, A202, A402, A501; Boy: A101, A501

3: Men: A101 (x3), A202, A402

4: Servants: B101 (x4); Woman: ?

-

Hettner 1903, 10-12; Massow 1932, no. 184, 158-163, fig. 106-109, pl. 31-34; Hatt 1966, 71f., fig. 31; Schindler 1977, fig. 337; Baltzer 1983, 33, 104 no. 71, fig. 30, 100; Böhme 1985, 432 & pl. III, 6; Wild 1985, 392; 379; fig. 18; Heinen 1985, 172; Numrich 1997, 114-117; 133.

RLT 970; 9933; 10019; 10020; 10040; 10048; 10049; 10050; 10069

Espérandieu VI 5142, 5168

T57 (plate VIII)

Neumagen

Early 3rd cent.

60x115x92

L

Bottom fragment, probably from a grave pillar, of a standing niche relief portrait of a couple showing the calves and feet of a woman in *tunica* and *palla* and a man in a toga.

Woman: B106, B203; Man: A301,4

-

Massow 1932, no. 15, page 80, pl. 13.

RLT 758

Espérandieu VI 5169

T58

Neumagen

Early 3rd cent. (toga)

43x32x28

S

Shoulder fragment, probably from a grave pillar, of a larger than life-sized standing niche relief portrait of a man in a 3rd-cent. toga.

A301,4

-

Massow 1932, no. 199, page 178, pl. 43.

RLT 11198

-

T59 (plate VIII)

Neumagen

1st half of 3rd cent. (Hettner); circa 240 (Massow)

Whole monument over 4m high (Massow)

S

"Schlanke Pfeiler": Various fragments of a small, thin grave pillar showing a standing niche relief portrait of a couple on the front and dancers on the sides. The man wears a Gallic tunic and cape, the woman the Gallic tunic and rectangular cloak draped across her shoulders and chest.

Man: A101, A201; Woman: B101, B202 mode 2

-

Hettner 1903, 17f.; Massow 1932, no. 186, page 172-174, fig. 114, pl. 40-41.

RLT 770; 971; 989

Espérandieu VI 5147

T60 (plate XI)

Neumagen

220-225

Whole monument over 5m high (Massow)

"Avituspfeiler": Various fragments of a large grave pillar.

1. Front: Above the inscription, fragments of a life-sized standing niche relief portrait of a couple. Only the hip area of the woman and the right calf/feet of the man remain. The woman wears a long, flowing dress which could be Gallic or Roman and the man's calves are bare, showing he was wearing a Gallic tunic as the toga and *pallium* reach to the ankles (von Massow (165) believes he can see the bottom seam of a toga, but if this were the case, one would see the hanging fold between the ankles.)

2. A woman completely enveloped by a large cape (cf. T56) sits on a stool having her hair done by two servant girls in girt 3rd-cent. Gallic tunics.

3. Fragment showing the top half of a man in a Gallic tunic. It is unclear what he is doing.

4. A woman sits in a chair, again wearing a long, unidentifiable garment. In front of her, a woman wearing a bonnet and a girt 3rd-cent. Gallic tunic is probably a servant.

5. A man on horseback wearing a Gallic tunic and cape with leg wrappings.

6. Fragment of a meal scene showing an unidentifiable figure sitting in a chair, attended by a servant in a 3rd-cent. Gallic tunic. Another, male, servant leaves the dinner table towards the right carrying something, possibly a dish. He wears a 3rd-cent. Gallic tunic.

1: Man: A101; Woman: B101?

2: B101 (x2)

3: A101

4: B101, B701

5: A101, A201, A402

6: A101, B101

D(IIS) [M(ANIBVS)] | [- - -] O AVITO | ET PRIM [- - -] SILLA
[- - -] | CIB [- - -] | [- - -] MARIT | O DEFV | [NCTO - - -]
ARTVLA | [- - -] FECIT

The name Avitus is Latin, but common in Gaul (Freigang 1997a, 388; *OPEL* I, 97f.; Weisberger 303) and may be related to a Celtic name (Dondin-Payre 289). Artula is Celtic (Weisgerber 315).

Hettner 1903, 19f.; Massow 1932, no. 185, page 163-172, fig. 110-113, pl. 35-39; Weisgerber 1935, 303; 315; Baltzer 1983, 33; 104 no. 72, fig. 101; Wild 1985, 383; Numrich 1997, 117-121; 133; Dondin-Payre 2001, 289.

RLT 09,834; 22,133; 165; 168; 754; 756; 757; 764; 775; 963; 967; 980; 984; 987; 990; 991; 995; 997

CIL XIII 4172; Espérandieu VI 5145; 5222

T61

Neumagen

Mid 3rd cent.

Left fragment: 42.5x29x30

Right fragment: 42x84x77

S

Two fragments, probably from a grave pillar, showing the heads of a couple from a life-sized standing niche relief portrait. The man's head is badly damaged, but the woman wears a Gallic bonnet with a pin over the ear.

B701

-

Massow 1932, no. 193, page 177, pl. 42 & 66; Wild 1985, 392, fig. 34.

RLT 9966; 10067

-

T62 (plate XII)

Igel

Early-mid 3rd cent.

2210x512x426 (lowest step). Originally approx. 23m high (Dragendorff/Krüger)

S

"Igel Pillar": The only intact grave pillar in Gallia Belgica. Almost completely covered in reliefs, but in many parts badly eroded by the elements and some of the stones at the base have been removed. For this reason, drawings by L. Dahm are used in the plates. Description from bottom to top of scenes applicable to this study (all others are scenes from classical mythology):

Steps:

1. Dolphins and cupids

2. Transport scene: Large bundles of goods on ships (presumably on the Moselle). The figures that are decipherable wear girt Gallic tunics.

3. Tritons and sea animals.

Base:

South face: Cloth store scene (cf. T33). Fourteen people gathered around two large tables. Curtains at the sides and shelves of folded cloth in the background. At the left, a man sits on a chair with a book in his lap. Four men behind the table watch him. A fifth stands behind a pile of coins on the table. Another five men stand around a second table. One holds up a piece of cloth. All wear Gallic tunics. Dragendorff/Krüger interpret the right of the scene as the "showroom", the left side as the counter where the customers line up to pay for their wares and a clerk keeps tabs in a register (Dragendorff/Krüger 52f.; fig. 30; pl. 10.2).

East face: Cloth workshop (?). Very badly eroded scene

showing a man in a Gallic tunic bent over a table. Dragendorff/Krüger interpret it as a workshop scene because it would fit in with the programme of the other base scenes (Dragendorff/Krüger 53f.; fig. 31; pl. 11.2).

West face: Transport scene. A wagon pulled by three horses rides out of an arched gateway. In the background, a tree. The driver wears a Gallic tunic. The wagon holds a large bundle, presumably of cloth, that has been prepared in the scene on the north face (Dragendorff/Krüger 54f.; fig. 32; pl. 12.2).

North face: Workers tying up a bundle (cf. Espérandieu I 164 (Arles) and T170). Five men using long sticks tie up a large bundle, presumably of cloth. They all wear the *exomis* (Dragendorff/Krüger 56f.; fig. 33; pl. 13.2).

Aedicula:

South face: Main portrait. Above the inscription, a standing niche relief portrait of three men. The middle, smaller (younger?) one gives the man on the right his hand (*dextrarum iunctio*). Both of these men wear Antonine togas with the long-sleeved Gallic tunic underneath. The man on the left turns and watches the scene. He wears a Gallic tunic and cape rolled up on one side (Dragendorff/Krüger 63 wrongly interpret this as a *chlamys*) and holds a scroll. Above the men, three medallion bust portraits. The gender and garments cannot be deciphered, although Dragendorff/Krüger believe the middle one may be the wife of one of the men, Pacata, mentioned in the inscription (Dragendorff/Krüger 62-65; fig. 34; pl. 5).

East face: Scenes from Achilles' life.

West face: Perseus and Andromeda.

North face: Hercules ascending to heaven.

Frieze:

South face: Family meal scene in three parts (cf. T119, T128, T152, T153). In the middle (the dining room), two men in Gallic tunics (presumably the two brothers of the inscription) recline behind a table laid with food. Either side of the table sit two women in armchairs wearing Gallic tunics and rectangular cloaks around their shoulders and arms. The men pass them goblets. In the left scene, two servants wearing Gallic tunics with towels over their shoulders prepare drinks in a room, presumably a wine store. In the right scene, two servants in Gallic tunics prepare dishes of food in a side room (Dragendorff/Krüger 73f.; fig. 43; pl. 9.1).

East face: Kitchen scene. Two kitchen workers in girt Gallic tunics and leg wrappings tend to an oven and a *mortarium* while three other servants in Gallic tunics prepare food. All have their sleeves rolled up (Dragendorff/Krüger 74f.; fig. 44; pl. 9.2).

West face: Tenants bringing rent (cf. T117). On the right, the landlord in a Gallic tunic holding a scroll greets six tenants approaching him from the left, all wearing Gallic tunics and capes, and three wearing shoulder capes as well. They bring their rent in kind: a lamb, two fish, a chicken, a basket of fruit. Three of them carry walking sticks (Dragendorff/Krüger 75f.; fig. 44; pl. 9.3).

North face: Transport scene. Bundles of goods on two horses, one going up a stylised mountain, the other going down the other side. A man in a Gallic tunic and Gallic cape leads each of them. To the left and right, the origin and destination symbolised by two stylised brick buildings (Dragendorff/Krüger 76f.; fig. 46; pl. 9.4).

Attica:

South face: Cloth inspection. Two men in Gallic tunics hold up a large piece of cloth between them. Another large piece of cloth is brought by a man in a Gallic tunic. Another man in a Gallic tunic takes it off him. Two men in Gallic tunics and capes watch in the background. A man in a Gallic tunic on the right writes into a register. Dragendorff/Krüger interpret the scene as cloth manufacturers bringing their products for inspection. This is based on an interpretation of a line across the back and arm of the figure bringing in the cloth as a shoulder cape, and hence, outdoor clothing. (Dragendorff/Krüger 77f.; fig. 47; pl. 10.1) This line is part of the natural relief of the stone, and the man carrying the cloth is actually wearing indoor clothing (the tunic) and as such is an employee of the Secundini bringing in their products for inspection by the two men in the background in outdoor clothing, who may be inspectors or customers.

East face: Office scene (cf. T56, T129, T145, T147, T168). A man in a Gallic tunic sits behind a desk reading a register while two men in Gallic tunics and capes (one bearded) talk together in the background. One is counting on his fingers. Another man in a Gallic tunic leans over the desk where damage prevents us from seeing what was presumably a pile of coins. Another man approaches the scene from the left wearing a Gallic tunic and cape. He carries a heavy sack over his shoulder, presumably full of money (Dragendorff/Krüger 78f.; fig. 48; pl. 11.1).

West face: Riding scene (cf. T33). Two men wearing Gallic tunics drive a simple, two-wheeled cart pulled by two horses out of an arched gateway and past a milestone inscribed with L IIII. Four *leugae* (8 km) is the distance from Igel to Trier (Dragendorff/Krüger 79f.; fig. 49; pl. 12.1).

North face: Eros with two gryphons.

Steps:

2: A101 (x3)

Base:

South face: A101 (x14)

East face: A101

West face: A101

North face: A104 (x5)

Aedicula:

South face: Man on left: A101, A201

Man in middle: A101, A301,3

Man on right: A101, A301,3

Frieze:

South face: Two men reclining: A101 (x2)

Women: B101, B202 mode 1 (x2)

Servants: A101 (x4)

East face: Kitchen boys: A101 (x2), A402 (x2)

Servants: A101 (x3)

West face: Landlord: A101

Tenants:

A101 (x6), A201 (x6), A202 (x3)

North face: A101 (x2)

Attica:

South face: Employees: A101 (x5),

Customers/Inspectors: A101 (x2), A201 (x2)

East face: Clerks: A101 (x2),

Other men: A101 (x3), A201 (x3)

West face: A101 (x2)

D(IIS) M(ANIBVS) | P [- - -] SECV [- - -] VOCA | P [- - -]
VRICI [- - -] | NO [. .] ILIS SECVNDINI SECVRI ET PVBLIAE
PA | CATAE CONIVGI SECVNDIN(I)I AVENTINI ET L(UCIO)
SAC | CIO MODESTO ET MODESTIO MACEDONI FILIO EI | IVS
LVCI(I) SECVNDINIVS AVENTINVS ET SECVNDI | NIV[S
S]ECVRVS PAR(E)NTIBVS D(E)FVNCTIS ET | SIBI VIVI VT
(H)ABERENT F(E)CERVNT

The relation of L. Saccius Modestus and Modestius to the others is unclear. Dragendorff/Krüger suspect the first part of the inscription may contain the name of the father, who they believe was an *evocatus Augusti*, an administrative officer in the Roman army (Dragendorff/Krüger 64) but modern scholarship has ruled this unlikely (Heinen 151).

Secundinus is very common in Gallia Belgica (Freigang 296). The names Securus, Publia, Pacata, Aventinus, Modestus, Macedonus are all Latin (Weisgerber 302f.). Modestus is a name common among slaves and *liberti* (Kajanto 68f.). Saccius is Celtic (Raepsaet-Charlier 377). Dragendorff/Krüger 1924; Weisgerber 1935, 302f.; 331; Kajanto 1965, 68f.; Zahn 1982; Mersch 1985; Heinen 1985, 149-151; fig. 52-54; Freigang 1997a, 296; Raepsaet-Charlier 2001a, 377.

In situ in the village of Igel, Germany

CIL XIII 4206; Espérandieu VI 5268

T63

Buzenol-Montauban

165-190

55x67x60. Whole monument over 3m high (Mariën 61)

L

Block fragment from a *stela* showing the bottom part of standing niche reliefs portrait on the front and two sides.

1. Front: A couple. The only part of the two figures that is visible is between the hips and the knees. The woman wears a *tunica* and *palla*. The man wears a Gallic tunic and cape.

2. Left side: A woman (the daughter?) wearing a *tunica* and *palla* draped over her head and the hairstyle of Faustina Minor. She holds a jewellery box.

3. Right side: A man (the son?) wearing a Gallic tunic and cape with hood and scarf around the neck. He holds a scroll and a bundle of *codices*.

1: Woman: B106, B203; Man: A101, A201

2: B106, B203 mode 5

3: A101, A201, A501

-

De Loë 1937, 351f., fig. 155f.; Mariën 1944b, 60f. no. 17; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 111 with further literature.

Mus. Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels 2125 O

Espérandieu XIV 8388

T64

Buzenol-Montauban

165-190

61x86x100

L

Fragment of a grave pillar showing the bottom part of a relief portrait of a man wearing a Gallic tunic.

A101

-

De Loë 1937, 351; Mariën 1943a, 28f., fig. 18.
Mus. Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels
Espérandieu V (Suppl.) 8392

T65

Buzenol-Montauban
165-190
115x40x66

L

Fragment of a standing niche relief portrait from a grave pillar showing the side of a man wearing a Gallic cape.
A201

-

De Loë 1937, 354.
Mus. Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels
Espérandieu V (Suppl.) 8393

T66

Buzenol-Montauban
165-190
120x60x40

L

Fragment of a standing niche relief portrait from a grave pillar showing the side of a man wearing a Gallic tunic.
A101

-

De Loë 1937, 353f.; Mariën 1943a, 27, fig. 15.
Mus. Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels
Espérandieu V (Suppl.) 8394

T67

Buzenol-Montauban
Late 2nd cent.
1: 55x81x85
2: 58x64x87

S

Two conjoining block fragments of a *stela* showing two standing niche relief portraits on the front and two scenes from everyday life on the sides.

1. Front: A couple visible from the thighs to the shoulders. They are holding hands (*dextrarum iunctio*). The woman wears a Gallic tunic and a rectangular cloak around her shoulders and arms. The man wears a Gallic tunic and cape and holds a bundle of *codices*.

2. Front: A second couple are also visible from the thighs to the shoulders. The woman wears a Gallic tunic and a *palla* around her shoulders and across her front supported by her left arm. The man wears a Gallic tunic and cape and holds a bundle of *codices*.

3. Left side: Three men, two of them sitting. One of them reads from a *codex*. The man who is standing is counting on his fingers. All wear Gallic tunics.

4. Right side: A man wearing a Gallic tunic weighs some produce on scales, presumably in some sort of shop.

1: Woman: B101, B202 mode 1; Man: A101, A201

2: Woman: B101, B203 mode 1; Man: A101, A201

3: A101 (x3)

4: A101

-

Rieche 1986, 165ff.; Freigang 1997a, 323 & cat. no. Trev 112 with further literature.

Parc archéologique, Buzenol-Montauban 58 Bu 28; 58

Bu 31

-

T68 (plate XIII)

Luxembourg

-

-

-

Fragment showing the top half of a standing niche relief portrait of a couple. The stone, now lost, has only survived in a drawing by Wiltheim. The woman wears a Gallic tunic and a rectangular cloak across her right shoulder. She is also wearing an elaborate bonnet, which is very large and seems to be woven (if, as Espérandieu says, this is not the elaborate braided hairstyle of the Flavian period which Wiltheim has misinterpreted as a bonnet). The man has a beard and wears a Gallic tunic and cape.

Woman: B101, B202, B701 (?); Man: A101, A201

-

Wiltheim 1841, 157 & pl. XXIII no. 81. For further literature see Espérandieu.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4186

T69

Wasserbillig
3rd cent.
150x80x77

-

Badly damaged *stela* (cf. Wilhelm who believes it is from a sarcophagus) showing a standing niche relief portrait of a couple holding hands (*dextrarum iunctio*). The man wears a Gallic tunic and cape and the woman a *tunica* and *palla* around the hips. Her head is erased.

Man: A101, A201

Woman: B106, B203 mode 4

-

Wilhelm 1974, no. 269; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 73.
Mus. Hist. Art, Lux. 215

-

T70

Weiler-la-Tour
Late 2nd/early 3rd cent.

Base alone: 4x5.4 (Thill 1970, 378). Whole monument: at least 15m high (Thill 1971, 493)

L & S

Several fragments from a very large grave pillar including several small sections of a larger than life-sized standing niche relief portrait of a couple. Only parts of the woman's clothes are among the fragments. They show she was wearing *palla*.

B203

Only fragments of single letters recovered.

Thill 1970, 378; 1971; Wilhelm 1974, 32f. nos 176-207.

Mus. Hist. Art, Lux. 1301-1934

-

T71 (plate XIII)

Berbourg
2nd/3rd cent.

78x78x83

L

Fragment of a *cippus* showing a small standing niche relief portrait above the inscription on the front and a relief scene on the left side.

1. Front: A couple holding hands (*dextrarum iunctio*) and wearing Gallic tunics.

2. Left side: Workshop scene. Four men, one of them behind a counter, surrounded by woodworking instruments. They all wear Gallic tunics with hoods.

1: Man: A101; Woman: B101

2: A101 (x4)

D(IIS) [M(ANIBVS)] | CLETVSSTO VER[- - - DEFV] | NCTO ET
EBVRIA M[- - - CO] | NIVGI VIVA IV[- - -]

Eburia is a Celtic name (Weisgerber 1935, 315), Cletusstus perhaps also (Raepsaet-Charlier 364), although a Cletus is known from Greek onomastics (Freigang 390). Weisgerber believes Cletusstus is associated with the Caerosi (a Cisrhene German tribe strongly linked with the Treveri) (Weisgerber 1969, 293f.).

Loeschke 1932, 25; Weisgerber 1935, 315; 1969, 293f.; Wilhelm 1974, no. 289; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 75; Raepsaet-Charlier 2001a, 364.

Mus. Hist. Art, Lux. 246 lap. 39

CIL XIII 4103; Espérandieu V 4221

T72

Prenzeberg

-

30x44x21

-

Chest fragment of a relief portrait of a man in a toga.

A301

-

Wilhelm 1974, 60; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 118.

Mus. Hist. Art, Lux. 286

-

T73 (plate XIII)

Mamer

-

73x77x56

L

Two fragments of a *cippus* showing a standing niche relief portrait of a couple on the front and dancers on the sides. The stone is badly damaged today, but drawings by Wiltheim show the woman wearing a Gallic tunic, rectangular cloak around her shoulders and Gallic bonnet, and the man wearing a Gallic tunic and cape. The woman holds a flask, the man a purse.

Woman: B101, B202 mode 1, B701

Man: A101, A201

-

Wiltheim 1841, 305 & pl. XC no. 414-416; Wilhelm 1974, 42f. no. 291.

Mus. Hist. Art, Lux. 144

Espérandieu V 4194

T74 (plate XIII)

Mamer

-

-

-

Fragment of a niche relief portrait, now lost and only preserved in a drawing by Wiltheim. It shows the top half of a man in a Gallic tunic and cape.

A101, A201

-

Wiltheim 1841, 305 & pl. XC no. 417.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4198

T75

Castel near Dalheim

-

-

-

Fragment of a niche relief portrait, now lost and only preserved in a drawing by Wiltheim. It shows the top half of a man in a Gallic tunic holding a scroll.

A101

-

Wiltheim 1841, 287 & pl. LXXXII no. 361.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4204

T76

Remerschen-Mecheren

Late 3rd/early 4th cent.

61x80x77

S

Cippus with a niche bust relief portrait of a couple. The triangle-shaped grooves cut into their chests suggest the woman wears a rectangular cloak folded in a V across the chest and the man a Gallic cape. The woman's hair seems to consist of stylised ringlets around the forehead and she is wearing a bonnet. The monument may be linked to the villa complex at Remerschen.

Woman: B202 mode 7, B701; Man: A201

-

Wilhelm 1974, 43 no. 292; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 125.

Mus. Hist. Art, Lux. 1123

-

T77 (plate XIV)

Monderkange

-

-

-

Fragments from the gable of a monument, now lost and only preserved in a drawing by Wiltheim. It shows a standing niche relief portrait of three figures, the two outer ones male and the middle one female. It is unclear what the woman is wearing. The two men wear Gallic tunics and capes.

A101, A201 (x2)

-

Wiltheim 1841, 317 & pl. XCV no. 458.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4242

T78 (plate XIV)

Monderkange

-
-
-

Fragment from the gable of a monument, now lost and only preserved in a drawing by Wiltheim. It shows a standing niche relief portrait of three figures. The two on the left are women, the one on the right a man. The woman on the left wears a Gallic tunic and rectangular cloak around her shoulders. The woman in the middle (seated) wears a Gallic tunic. The man on the right wears a Gallic tunic and cape.

Woman (left): B101, B202 mode 1

Woman (middle): B101

Man: A101, A201

-

Wiltheim 1841, 296 & pl. LXXXVII no. 392. For further literature see Espérandieu.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4245

T79

Haller near Waldbillig

-
-
-

Fragment from the gable of a monument showing the top half of a standing niche relief portrait of three women wearing Gallic tunics. The stone, now lost, has only survived in a drawing by Wiltheim. Wiltheim's drawing shows that the stone was already badly damaged when he saw it.

B101 (x3)

-

Wiltheim 1841, 294 & pl. LXXXVII no. 394.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4235

T80

Altlinster

-

Figures approx 2.5m high

-

Large relief carved into a 6m-high rock face. Despite the very bad condition of the stone, one can make out a standing relief portrait of a couple. The man wears a Gallic tunic and cape, the woman a Gallic tunic and rectangular cloak. The man may be holding a purse.

Man: A101, A201, Woman: B101, B202

-

Demarteau 1911; Boppert 2000, 103f. & pl. XLVI,2.

Carved directly into Herta Ley, Altlinster, Luxembourg
Espérandieu V 4222

T81

Unknown. Luxembourg area

-
-
-

Block fragment showing a standing niche relief portrait of a couple. The stone, now lost, has only survived in drawings by Wiltheim and Boissard. The woman wears a Gallic tunic with a fringe along the hem and a rectangular

cloak folded in a V across the chest. She holds a *mappa* and a flask. The man wears a Gallic tunic and cape and holds a bundle of *codices*. Behind the two figures, a tree (Boissard's drawing) or a naked figure (Wiltheim's drawing). Below the portrait, a man attacks a wild boar with a spear. He wears a tunic of indeterminable type.

Woman: B101, B202 mode 7; Man: A101, A201

-

Wiltheim 1841, 183 & pl. XXXVIII no. 143. For Boissard's drawing see Espérandieu.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4169

T82 (plate XIV)

Unknown. Luxembourg area

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-
-

Block fragment showing a standing niche relief portrait of a couple. The stone, now lost, has only survived in a drawing by Wiltheim. The woman wears a Gallic tunic and rectangular cloak around her shoulders and holds a flask and a jewellery box. She may be wearing a bonnet (the drawing is unclear). The man seems to be bald or balding. He wears a Gallic tunic and cape.

Woman: B101, B202 mode 1, B701 (?); Man: A101, A201

-

Wiltheim 1841, 180 & pl. XXXVII no. 139.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4275

T83 (plate XIII)

Unknown. Luxembourg area

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-
-

Block fragment showing a standing niche relief portrait of a couple. The stone, now lost, has only survived in a drawing by Wiltheim. The woman wears a Gallic tunic and rectangular cloak across her shoulders and chest and holds a *mappa*. According to Wiltheim's drawing, she wears an unusual Gallic bonnet with a dent in the middle at the front. The man wears a Gallic tunic and cape and holds a bundle of *codices*.

Woman: B101, B202 mode 2, B701; Man: A101, A201

[S]ALVA MENTE MEMORA | FVLVIVS POTENTINVS | SIBI
VIV(V)S ET LVCANIAE | IANVARIAE CONIVG(I) |
DEFVNCTAE F(ECIT)

The names Fulvius (*OPEL* II, 155), Potentinus (*OPEL* III, 156), Lucania (*OPEL* III, 33) and Ianuaria (*OPEL* II, 189f.) are common Latin names (Weisgerber 303).

The formula *salva mente memora* is unusual. Wiltheim supposed it to be Christian: See Schuermans 111.

Wiltheim 1841, 192 & pl. XLIX no. 180; Prat 1873, 87 & pl. LIII; Schuermans 1876, 111; Waltzing 1904, 139; Weisgerber 1935, 302ff.

Lost

CIL XIII 4267; Espérandieu V 4167

T84

Unknown. Luxembourg area

Late 2nd/3rd cent.

-
-

Block fragment showing niche relief bust portraits of a couple. The stone, now lost, has only survived in a drawing by Wiltheim. The woman wears a Gallic tunic, has her hair long and open and holds a cup(?). The man wears a Gallic tunic and some sort of garment over his shoulder. This is likely to be his cape rolled up to his shoulder, as often depicted. It is difficult to know for sure as Wiltheim's drawing is simplified.

Woman: B101; Man: A101, A201 (?)

D(IIS) M(ANIBVS) IVRCINIVS D | RINDO ET CALEN(VS) | AGATILLVS VXO | R(I) F(ACIENDVM) C(VRAVIT)

Iurcinus (*OPEL* II, 209) is Celtic (Weisgerber 315). Agatillus is otherwise unattested (*OPEL* I, 33) although there may be links to northern Italy (Weisgerber 354). It is not Latin but also not definitely Celtic (Weisgerber 330). Calenus (*OPEL* II, 22) is Celtic (Dondin-Payre 235) Drindo is only attested once, also in Belgica (*OPEL* II, 109). It may be Germanic (Weisgerber 350). See Schuermans for this and other examples of women on inscriptions from Arlon with seemingly masculine names (Schuermans 105).

Wiltheim 1841, 177 & pl. XXXIV no. 131; Prat 1873, 80 & pl. XVIII; Schuermans 1876, 105; Waltzing 1904, 142; Weisgerber 1935, 315; 330; 350; 354f.; Dondin-Payre 2001, 235. For further literature see Espérandieu.

Lost

CIL XIII 4268; Espérandieu V 4168

T85 (plate XIII)

Unknown. Luxembourg area

175-250

-
-

Block fragment showing a standing niche relief portrait of a couple. The stone, now lost, has only survived in drawings by Wiltheim and Boissard. The woman wears a Gallic tunic with a fringe along the hem and a rectangular cloak folded in a V across the chest. She holds a small box. The man has a beard, wears a Gallic tunic with a fringe along the hem and a cape and holds a purse. On either side of the stone, naked dancing figures and a phoenix.

Woman: B101, B202 mode 7; Man: A101, A201

D(IIS) M(ANIBVS) PENNAVSIO LAGAN(A)E | SIDONI(A)E IASS(A)E MONIMEN | [T]VM FILII FACIENDVM DE | SVO CVRAVERVNT

Pennauius (*OPEL* III, 131) is Celtic (Raepsaet-Charlier 377). Lagana (*OPEL* III, 17) may be Celtic (Raepsaet-Charlier 377). Sidonia (*OPEL* IV, 80) may be Greek (Weisgerber 304). The name Iassa and versions of it are restricted almost entirely to Belgica (*OPEL* II, 190) and are Celtic (Raepsaet-Charlier 389) or Celtic/Germanic (Weisgerber 315; 319).

Wiltheim 1841, 197f. & pl. LI no. 192-194; Prat 1873, 7 & pl. XL-XLII; Waltzing 1904, 156; Weisgerber 1935, 304; 315; 319; 344f.; Raepsaet-Charlier 2001a, 377, 389. For further literature see Espérandieu.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4170

T86

Unknown. Luxembourg area

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-
-

Block fragment showing a standing niche relief portrait of a couple holding hands (*dextrarum iunctio*). The stone, now lost, has only survived in a drawing by Wiltheim. The woman wears a Gallic tunic and a rectangular cloak draped in a scooping fold across her chest. The man wears a Gallic tunic and a cape.

Woman: B101, B202 mode 5

Man: A101, A201

-

Wiltheim 1841, 183 & pl. XXXIX no. 144.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4176

T87 (plate XIV)

Unknown. Luxembourg area

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-
-

Block fragment from an elaborate monument showing the top half of a standing niche relief portrait and relief scenes on the sides. The elaborate border contains cupids and figures playing musical instruments. The stone, now lost, has only survived in a drawing by Wiltheim.

1. Portrait: A couple holding hands (*dextrarum iunctio*). The woman wears a Gallic tunic and undergarment and a rectangular cloak draped diagonally across her chest. She holds a *mappa*. The man wears a Gallic tunic and cape.

2. Below a medallion with a bust portrait of a young boy (clothing unclear) held by two cupids, a man in a Gallic tunic sits and turns to a person (clothing unclear) who hands him an object.

3. & 4. Mythological scenes (Diana, Neptune).

1: Woman: B101, B102, B202 mode 8; Man: A101, A201

2: A101

-

Wiltheim 1841, 178f. & pl. XXXIV-XXXVI no. 133-136; Prat 1873, 82 & pl. XX-XXIII. For further literature see Espérandieu.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4180

T88 (plate XV)

Unknown. Luxembourg area (possibly Arlon: Schuermans 97)

Mid 3rd cent. (hairstyle)

85x70x45

-

Cippus showing a standing niche relief portrait of a couple on the front and mythological figures on the sides. In the portrait, the woman wears a Gallic tunic and rectangular cloak draped diagonally across her chest. Her hairstyle is that of the mid 3rd cent. She holds a flask and a *mappa*. The man wears a Gallic tunic and cape and holds a bundle of *codices*.

Woman: B101, B202 mode 8; Man: A101, A201

According to Wiltheim, the stone bore an inscription:

AVE SEXTI | IVCVNDE | VALE SEXTI | IVCVNDE

This inscription is no longer on the stone, or was part of a second stone or a fragment of this one which is now lost. The precise meaning of the inscription is unclear. Wiltheim thought it related to the figures on the sides. Espérandieu is rightly sceptical. Sextus Iucundus is a common Latin name (*OPEL* IV, 79f.; II, 199; Weisgerber 303).

Wiltheim 1841, 186 & pl. XLII no. 159f.; Schuermans 1876, 97; Weisgerber 1935, 303. For further literature see Espérandieu.

Mus. Hist. Art, Lux.

CIL XIII 4280; Espérandieu V 4163

T89 (plate XIV)

Unknown. Luxembourg area (possibly Waldbillig; Schuermans 92 note 1)

Mid-late 3rd cent (hairstyle, style of draping woman's cloak)

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-

Cippus showing a niche bust relief portrait of a couple in an arched gable. The woman wears a rectangular cloak folded in a V across her chest and the bob hairstyle of the mid 3rd cent. The man wears a Gallic cape. The stone, now lost, has only survived in a drawing by Wiltheim.

A201, B202 mode 7

D(IIS) M(ANIBVS) | SATTONIO | ARTISIO DEF (VNCTO) | PRIMITIVIA PRI | [MITIV]A C(ONIVGI) ET S(IBI) V(IVA) F(ECIT)

The name Sattonius is Celtic (Freigang 396). Artisius is known once more in Belgica and once in Raetia (*OPEL* I, 78) and is Celtic (Weisgerber 315). Primitivia is a common Latin name (Freigang 395, *OPEL* III, 159f.).

Wiltheim 1841, 296 & pl. LXXXVII no. 392; Schuermans 1876, 92; Weisgerber 1935, 315. For further literature see Espérandieu.

Lost

CIL XIII 4278; Espérandieu V 4244

T90

Mehring-Lörsch

2nd cent.

60x113x66

L

Corner fragment from a grave pillar. One side shows the bottom half of a relief portrait of two women, the other of one. All are wearing *tunicae* and *pallae*. Vine decoration adorns the right edge of the smaller side.

B106 (x3), B203 (x3)

-

Cüppers/Laufner/Faas 1987, 104 no. 41, fig. 41; Gilles 1993, 151ff.; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 17.

RLT 28,594-596

Espérandieu XI 7735

T91

Ruwertal

Late 3rd cent. (toga and hairstyle)

32x72x36

S

Fragment of a sarcophagus lid showing the top half of niche relief portrait of a couple holding hands (*dextrarum iunctio*). The clothing is severely stylised but the woman wears a rectangular cloak folded in a V across her chest and the hairstyle of the turn of the 3rd/4th cent. (a wide braid brought up from the nape of the neck to the top of the head). The man wears a 3rd-cent. toga.

Woman: B202 mode 7

Man: A301,4

-

See Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 19 for literature.

RLT G 37π

Espérandieu VI 5133

T92

Wintersdorf

Late 2nd/early 3rd cent.

Statue (man): 160; Statue (woman): 65; Head (man): 23;

Head (woman): 21

S

Four fragments of statues that belonged to a large funerary ensemble, probably a grave pillar.

1. Headless statue of a man wearing a Gallic tunic and cape with a towel over his shoulder and carrying bathing equipment – a little bottle, a little bag and a *strigilis*.

2. Top part of a statue of a woman wearing a *tunica* and *stola*. Her hair is parted in the middle and brought in loose waves behind the ears.

3. Head of statue of a young man.

4. Head of a statue of a woman with the same hairstyle as 2 and with a *palla* draped over her head.

1: A101, A201

2: B106, B107

4: B203 mode 5

-

Hettner 1893, no. 159-162; Wild 1985, 372 & pl. I,4; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 27 with further literature.

RLT PM 4845-4848

Espérandieu VI 5237

T93

Hentern

2nd half of 2nd cent.

122x87

Pink S

Fragment of a *stela* showing a standing niche relief portrait of a couple. The woman wears a Gallic tunic, a rectangular cloak around her shoulders, a Gallic bonnet and holds what is perhaps a distaff in her hand. The man has a beard and wears a Gallic cape (Cf. Freigang 301 who says it is a tunic). He holds a cup and a pair of pliers, suggesting he works with metal.

Woman: B101, B202 mode 1, B701; Man: A201

-

Heinen 1985, 174f.; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 129.

Built into the pillar of the church, cast in RLT 73,572

-

T94 (plate XV)

Föhren near Trier

175-250

67x70x96

S

Complete *cippus* showing a niche relief portrait of a small boy surrounded by toys and playing with a dog in an arch at the top. He wears a Gallic tunic.

A101

D(IIS) M(ANIBVS) | PRIMVLI INFA | NTIS SEQVEN | TIS ET PRIMVL(A)E | FILIO SERVO

Primulus and Primula are common Latin names (*OPEL* III, 160; Weisgerber 302).

Hettner 1893, 92 no. 195; Weisgerber 1935, 302.

RLT

CIL XIII 4199; Espérandieu VI 5260

T95

Sien

Early-mid 3rd cent. (hairstyle)

57x25x9

L

Fragment of a *stela* showing the upper half of a standing niche relief portrait of a girl wearing a 3rd-cent. Gallic tunic and a rectangular cloak draped in a scooping fold across her chest and held over her left arm. She holds a round object in her left hand – possibly a ball or a piece of fruit (Freigang 317). Her hair is parted in the middle and brought into a loose bun/bob at the nape of her neck (Severan).

B101, B202 mode 5

-

Hettner 1893, no. 481; Freigang 1997a, 317 & cat. no. Trev 12.

RLT St. W. 129

Espérandieu VI 4997

T96

Hottenbach

2nd/3rd cent.

57x118x45

S

Block fragment showing part of a relief bathing scene and an inscription. The bare-breasted woman is sitting on a long reclining chair. It is impossible to say what she wears from the waist down. A servant wearing a 3rd-cent. Gallic tunic is bringing her a towel.

Servant: B101

[D(IIS)] M(ANIBVS) | [- - -] IO PA | [- - -] TRIAE | [- - -] RIVI

Koepp 1924, 52f.; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 11.

RLT 09,758

CIL XIII 7555c; Espérandieu VI 5258

T97

Duppach

-

24

S

Badly damaged portrait head of a woman wearing a Gallic bonnet.

B701

-

Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 5,1 with further literature

RLT 21,105; 86,117. EV 91,36

-

T98

Morbach-Wederath

193

Base: 270x200

-

Approx. 300 fragments from a large grave pillar, including four portrait heads and fragments of clothing of two women, a man and a child. One of the women wears a bonnet. The other heads are unpublished.

B701

-

RLT 1983, no. 17b; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 9 with further literature.

RLT 71,127

-

T99

Bollendorf

-

60x72x20

S

Badly damaged gable section of a *stela* showing a relief niche portrait of a man sat on a stool with something in his lap. Schindler and Freigang interpret it as a *codex*. He wears a Gallic tunic.

A101

-

Lehner 1918, 288f. no. 713; 1924, 147; Schindler 1977, 102; Baltzer 1983, 46; 47; 97 no. 21; 125, fig. 125; Freigang 1997a, 335 & cat. no. Trev 25.

RLT 38,2669

Espérandieu VI 5259

T100

Unknown. Treveran area

180-185

70x135x92

White S

Bottom corner fragment of a standing niche relief portrait from a grave pillar showing the lower legs and feet of a man in a toga (type unclear) on the front and the fronts of two horses on the side.

A301

-

Hettner 1893, 109, no. 237; Raepsaet 1982, 225 no. 19; 266 pl. 8.3; Numrich 1997, 133; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 135.

RLT Reg. C213

Espérandieu VI 5026

T101

Unknown. Treveran area

-

102x84x83

L

Badly damaged *cippus* showing a standing niche relief portrait of a couple on the front and a scene from everyday life on the side.

1. Portrait. The woman wears a Gallic tunic and a rectangular cloak around her shoulders. She holds a small flask. The man wears a Gallic tunic and a cape brought up at the front by his arms. He holds a purse.

2. A man in a Gallic tunic drives a wagon pulled by two horses.

1: B101, B202 mode 1, A101, A201

2: A101

-

-

Built into a gateway at Clausen, Luxembourg
Espérandieu V 4157

Scenes from Everyday Life:

T102

Trier

Late 2nd/early 3rd cent.

120x74x63

-

Badly damaged block fragment from a large monument showing two relief scenes on one side.

Top: Three people around a table in a shop with various products on the shelves. It has been interpreted as a wine shop (Freigang 338) and as a general store (RLT 237f.) as a result of the poultry in the background. The three figures all wear Gallic tunics.

Bottom: A large barrel being transported on a wagon by a man in a Gallic tunic and cape.

Top: A101 (x3)

Bottom: A101, A201

RLT 1984, 237f.; Freigang 1997a, 327; 329; 333; 337f. & cat. no. Trev 30 with further literature.

Bischöfliches Dom- und Diözesenmuseum, Trier Ma 51

-

T103 (plate XV)

Trier

Late 2nd/Early 3rd cent.

63x104x101

S

Block fragment from a large monument with everyday relief scenes on three sides.

1. A man sitting behind a desk writing on a *codex*, assisted by another man to his left. Two figures approach. All wear Gallic tunics.

2. Three men in Gallic tunics, one standing, two sitting on chairs with an abacus between them. Baltzer has suggested the abacus is actually a board game involving round counters (31).

3. A man driving a horse-drawn wagon. He wears a Gallic tunic.

1: A101 (x4)

2: A101 (x3)

3: A101

Renard 1959, 224 no. 18; Baltzer 1983, 31; 102 no. 59, fig. 88; RLT 1983, 82 no. 3; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 36 with further literature.

RLT 31,276

Espérandieu XI 7725

T104

Trier

Late 2nd-mid 3rd cent.

62x130x94

S

Block fragment from a large monument with relief scenes on both sides. The back shows cupids and grapevines. The front shows the top part of one man and the arm of another pushing down on stakes (manoeuvring a boat). They wear girt Gallic tunics. The man on the right has a beard.

Men: A101 (x2)

Koethe 1935, 218; Cüppers/Laufner/Faas 1987, 102, fig. 39; 103 no. 39; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 35 with further literature.

RLT Reg. C. 215

Espérandieu VI 5225

T105 (plate XVI)

Trier

300-330

70x2.17x80

L

Front panel of a sarcophagus depicting a family as Noah & his family in the ark. The men wear 3rd-cent. Gallic tunics and the father also wears a Gallic cape. His wife stands behind him wearing a *tunica* and *palla* drawn over her head. Three other women wear *tunicae*. One has her hair in a bun. The two others wear the wide braid brought from the back of the head to the top, typical of the turn of the 3rd/4th cent.

Father: A101, A201; Sons: A101 (x3); Wife: B106, B203; Daughters: B106 (x3)

Hettner 1893, 155 no. 373; Koethe 1935, 226; Gerke 1940, 301ff., pl. 47,1; Kempf/Reusch 1965, 18, fig. 2.

RLT

Espérandieu VI 4989

T106

Trier

-

36x128x70

-

Fragment of a relief scene from everyday life showing a man (in Wild's opinion a shepherd) wearing a Gallic tunic and a *petasus* with a stick in his hand and accompanied by a dog.

A101, A703

Wild 1985, 383.

RLT

Espérandieu VI 5064

T107

Trier

-

28x34x34

S

Block fragment from a large monument with everyday relief scenes on three sides.

1. A man marching to the right holding a walking stick and wearing a Gallic tunic and scarf.

2. A woman standing between two men holding scales and wearing a long, gathered dress (?). The men are wearing Gallic tunics

3. A man standing, holding his hand up and facing a

statue of a goat. He wears a Gallic tunic.

1: A101

2: Men: A101 (x2), Woman: ?

3: A101

Hettner 1891, 405; 1893, 186, no. 463.

RLT

Espérandieu VI 4943

T108 (plate XVI)

Trier

-

-

-

Fragment of a niche relief scene, now lost and only preserved in a drawing by Wiltheim, showing two figures exchanging fruit in a basket and a ball of wool. The one on the right is female, and wears a Gallic tunic and bonnet. The other figure's face is erased, but it wears a similar tunic, girt at the waist. Probably a market scene from the side of a larger monument.

B101 (x2), B701

Wiltheim 1841, 39 & pl. V no. 10

Lost

Espérandieu VI 5013

T109 (plate XVI)

In or near Trier

-

40x54x47

L

Fragment of a relief scene showing the upper part of two men. The one on the right has long, curly hair and is wearing a Gallic cape. The one on the left has a beard, is wearing a laurel wreath and is playing a pan flute. He does not have the pointed ears of a satyr, suggesting he is a mortal and that this is an everyday life scene.

A201

-

RLT

Espérandieu VI 5070

T110 (plate XVI)

In or near Trier

-

60x95x68

S

Fragment showing everyday life relief scenes from a large monument.

1. A man (cf. Espérandieu: woman) from the shoulders down carrying a basket or rocker for grain. He wears a Gallic tunic.

2. Four men wearing Gallic capes.

3. A man with a beard and wearing a Gallic tunic sitting in a round armchair with his legs crossed. He seems to be addressing someone who is not on the fragment.

1: A101

2: A201 (x4)

3: A101

-

RLT

Espérandieu VI 5075

T111 (plate XV)

Arlon

40-50

56x74x7

L

Fragment from a large monument showing, in very shallow relief, the top part of a man in a girt Gallic tunic and cape with a scarf gathered around his neck in a similar way to Blussus (M12). He is leaning a stick on his shoulder. The top part of a man's head is visible to the right. The figure has been interpreted as a *ludi magister*, and the other figure as his pupil. Andrikopolou-Strack (68 & note 293) interprets the man as a soldier.

A101, A201, A501

Mariën 1945b, 138f. & fig. 54; Bertrang 1954, 38f. no. 4; Andrikopolou-Strack 1986, 67f.; Lefébvre 1990, no. 59.

Mus. Lux., Arlon GR/S 058

Espérandieu V 4103

T112

Arlon

2nd cent.

63x62x44

L

Fragment showing relief scenes on three sides. Above the front scene one can see the feet of larger figures which are all that remains of the main portrait.

1. Front: A man in a Gallic tunic drives a two-wheeled cart drawn by a horse laden with a large basket.

2. Left: An artisan in a Gallic tunic sits at his work (unclear).

3. Right: A man wearing a Gallic tunic (perhaps girt) works a pile of material on the ground with an instrument that looks like a hoe.

It seems likely that these three scenes represent the stages of production of a particular product. (3: working the raw materials, 2: manufacturing the product, 1: transporting either raw materials or the finished product). Waltzing suggested it is the production of bricks, Sibenaler believes it is more likely to be scenes from basket production (see also Lefébvre).

1: A101

2: A101

3: A101

Bertrang 1954, 65 no. 44; 60; Raepsaet 1982, 217 no. 1; 259 pl. 1.1; Nerzic 1989, 256; Lefébvre 1990, 77f. no. 51; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 95 with further literature.

Mus. Lux., Arlon

Espérandieu V 4031

T113 (plate XVI)

Arlon

100-250

-

-

Fragment of a relief scene, now lost and only preserved in a drawing by Wiltheim. It shows two men in Gallic tunics, and one in a Gallic cape, under a portico, castigating a third, smaller figure who is naked. Waltzing interpreted the scene as two schoolmasters punishing a schoolboy, comparing it to a similar scene on a fresco in

Herculaneum. The remains of an inscription underneath the scene read:

ATTILIVS REGVLVS | PATRONVS IDEMQVE | HERES [- - -]
On the left: D(IIS) M(ANIBVS) | PAT(RONI) | S(VI)
F(ACIENDVM) C(VRAVIT)

This renders it more likely to be a scene of a master punishing a disobedient slave or a scene of a slave being sold by the two men on the sides. If the latter, then Regulus is likely to be a slave trader. From the inscription, it is unclear who has died, and who is the heir of whom.

The names are both Latin/Mediterranean (Weisgerber 303f.) but Regulus could also be Celtic (*ILB* 71 and 72).

A101 (x2), A201

Wiltheim 1841, 243 & pl. LXI; Waltzing 1904; Weisgerber 1935, 303f. For further literature see Espérandieu.

Lost

CIL XIII 3986; Espérandieu V 4034; *ILB* 72

T114 (plate XVI)

Arlon

Late 2nd cent.

1: 61x144x82

2: 76x54x94

3: 47x121x125

L

Three block fragments from a large grave pillar, perhaps the size of that at Igél (T62), showing relief scenes.

1. Two men, one with a beard and wearing a Gallic cape and scarf, the other clean-shaven in a Gallic tunic, sit in a wagon behind a coachman with a beard and wearing a hooded Gallic cape. They are driving through an arch.

2. Part of the wheel of a wagon

3. Fragment of a scene of a man in a Gallic tunic riding a wagon pulled by a horse (?).

1: A101, A201 (x2), A501

3: A101

Raepsaet 1982, 220 no. 7; Nerzic 1989, 267; Lefébvre 1990, 68ff. no. 46; Roche-Bernard 1993, 39; Freigang 1997a, 328 & cat. no. Trev 105 with further literature.

Mus. Lux., Arlon & Tour romaine GR/S 045 (242)

-

T115 (plate XVII)

Arlon

2nd/3rd cent.

-

-

Fragment from a large monument, now lost and only preserved in two drawings by the Wiltheim brothers. It shows a relief scene of three men in girt Gallic tunics stirring something in a large wooden barrel with sticks. Possibly dyers or fullers at work. Cf. T126.

A101 (x3)

D(IIS) M(ANIBVS) N[- - -] | O PAT [- - -] | CRET C[- - -]
| DEFVN[- - -] | LLE MAT[- - -] | DANV [- - -] | I TES-
TAM[- - -]

Wiltheim 1841, 39 & pl. VI no. 12. For further literature see Espérandieu.

Lost

CIL XIII 4275; Espérandieu V 4125

T116 (plate XVIII)

Arlon

2nd/3rd cent

58x37x35

L

Fragment from a very large monument, perhaps a grave pillar (Mariën and Bertrang). Part of a relief scene in which a man in a Gallic tunic and cape drinks from a cup. In front of him is what seems to be a barrel. It has been suggested the man is a traveller drinking from a well as he also is holding a stick (Demarteau 160). De Maeyer has suggested he is a brewer sampling his beer. Loeschke believes the barrel is a wine barrel.

A101, A201

Demarteau 1904; Loeschke 1932, 30; De Maeyer 1938, 16-19; Mariën 1945b, 70ff.; Bertrang 1954, 68 no. 49; Lefébvre 1990, 82; 83, no. 57; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 109 with further literature.

Mus. Lux., Arlon GR/S 056 (216)

Espérandieu V 4049

T117 (plate XVII)

Arlon

3rd cent. (tunics)

43x69x35

-

Block fragment from a large monument showing a frieze of relief scenes on four sides. Only fragments of the block remain today, but Wiltheim drew the scenes when the stone was still intact:

1. A man in an unusually long 3rd-cent. Gallic tunic sits in an armchair at a table. Five men approach carrying various things: a chicken, two fish, a basket of fruit, a piglet and a walking stick. All wear 3rd-cent. Gallic tunics, one wears a hooded shoulder cape.

2. Two men in 3rd-cent. Gallic tunics drive a wagon pulled by four horses. In front of them, a man in a girt 3rd-cent. Gallic tunic holding a walking stick.

3. A woman seated, having her hair dressed by a servant standing behind her. She signals to three male figures approaching carrying various things: only a large sack is identifiable. All the figures wear 3rd-cent. Gallic tunics. The latter male figure wears a little cap.

4. Two women seated in a room (indicated by curtains), with a woman walking between them (probably a servant). All wear 3rd-cent. Gallic tunics.

Espérandieu suggests the first two scenes relate to the everyday life of the husband, i.e. collecting rent and riding, and the second two to the everyday life of the wife: having hair done and household goods delivered (?). The last scene is too incomplete for interpretation. Perhaps it is a scene of leisure: reading, eating, playing?

1: A101 (x6), A202

2: A101 (x3)

3: A101 (x3); B101 (x2), A701

4: B101 (x3)

-

Mus. Lux., Arlon (remaining fragments)

Espérandieu V 4102

T118

Arlon

3rd cent.

94x32x30

L

Badly damaged *cippus* showing a relief scene of a man sitting at a desk wearing a Gallic tunic and reading a *codex*. Another man in a Gallic tunic sits behind the desk and places his hand on a pile of coins on the desk. The scene seems to be that of a merchant settling accounts with a client. According to Mariën (118), the fabric depicted on either side of the stone indicates the man is a cloth merchant.

A101 (x2)

Mariën 1945b, 118f.; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 103 with further literature.

La Cour d'Or, Musées de Metz

Espérandieu V 4075

T119

Arlon

3rd cent. (hairstyle and tunics)

Length approx. 70 cm (anonymous note made before the stone was lost)

-

Fragment of a relief scene, now lost, but a photograph still exists. It shows a man reclining and gesturing to two people at his bedside. It is unclear what he is wearing. Two women wearing 3rd-cent. Gallic tunics are shown from the waist up. The first holds up her hand to him. She has the typical hairstyle of the turn of the 3rd/4th cent.: a wide braid brought up from the nape of the neck to the top of the head. The second seems to be reading or writing in a scroll. She wears a bun at the back of her head. Espérandieu interprets the scene as a man writing or signing his will on his deathbed. The two female figures could be his wife and daughter.

B101 (x2)

-

Lost

Espérandieu V 4108

T120

Arlon

Mid 3rd cent.

94x32x30

-

A cube-shaped *cippus* with a large pine-cone on the top. On two sides, draped curtains with busts emerging over them. One bust has wings. On the front, an office scene: a man wearing a Gallic tunic sits at a desk reading a large *codex*. Another man stands behind the desk. He also wears a Gallic tunic. Both have beards.

A101 (x2)

Renard 1959, 17 no. 14; Baltzer 1983, 51; 52; 99 no. 35; Nerzic 1989, 124; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 103 with further literature.

La Cour d'Or, Musées de Metz

Espérandieu V 4098

T121

Arlon

-

64x73x38

L

Fragment from the top of a small grave pillar, showing a relief meal scene on the front and mythological scenes on the sides. In the meal scene, a woman in a Gallic tunic sits and a man in a Gallic tunic reclines at a table while a servant, wearing a Gallic tunic, brings food.

A101, B101

Bertrang 1954, 55 no. 38; 60; Lefébvre 1990, 78ff. no. 54; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 94 with further literature.

Mus. Lux., Arlon

-

T122 (plate XVIII)

Arlon

-

60x146x36

L

Fragment from a large monument showing relief scenes on two sides.

1. A man wearing a Gallic tunic and *pallium* around his thighs reclines on a couch and reads from a scroll. A woman in unidentifiable clothing sits on a stool next to him and passes him something (a cup: Freigang 314). Four men stand around the couch wearing Gallic tunics. The one on the left also wears a Gallic cape and holds a scroll. The one on the right holds a scroll and *codex*.

2. On one side of the stone, the remains of a seated man in a toga.

The man on the couch is depicted in the manner of a philosopher. This has led Marrou and Freigang to conclude that the scene represents that of a man reading a work of literature to his family.

1: A101 (x5), A201, A204

2: A301

Marrou 1964, 123 no. 133; Wilhelm 1974, 37f. no. 275; Freigang 1997a, 314 & cat. no. Trev 104

Mus. Hist. Art, Lux. 522

Espérandieu V 4093 & 4095

T123

Arlon

-

-

-

Fragment of a relief scene from a large monument, now lost and only preserved in a drawing by Wiltheim. It shows a woman in a tunic with a cloak across her chest and a man in a girt Gallic tunic drinking from a large container.

A101

Wiltheim 1841, 323 & pl. XCVIII no. 477.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4100

T124 (plate XVIII)

Arlon

-

-

-

Fragment of a relief scene from a large monument, now lost and only preserved in a drawing by Wiltheim. It shows a man in a Gallic tunic driving a wagon pulled by

one horse.

A101

Wiltheim 1841, 260 & pl. LXXI no. 301. For further literature see Espérandieu.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4083

T125 (plate XVIII)

Arlon

-
-
-

Fragment of a relief scene, now lost and only preserved in a drawing by Wiltheim. It shows a man in a Gallic tunic working on a large round object which looks like a pot. This is most likely a scene from everyday life from a large monument but may be a portrait from a gravestone of a potter or some other craftsman, as it is depicted within its own elaborate niche.

A101

Wiltheim 1841, 260 & pl. LXXI no. 300. For further literature see Espérandieu.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4085

T126

Arlon

-
-
-

Fragment of a relief scene from a large monument, now lost and only preserved in a drawing by Wiltheim. It shows a man in a girt Gallic tunic and a *pilleus* stirring something in a large wooden barrel with sticks. Possibly a dyer or fuller at work. Cf. T115.

A101, A702

Wiltheim 1841, 39 & pl. VI no. 13. For further literature see Espérandieu.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4136

T127 (plate XIX)

Arlon

-
-
-

Fragment from a large monument, now lost and only preserved in a drawing by Wiltheim. It shows a meal relief scene of a couple, seated. The man hands a goblet to the woman. He wears a Gallic tunic and a cap. The woman wears a Gallic tunic, a rectangular cloak draped around the neck and shoulders and a cap. A servant stands behind the man's chair. She wears a girt Gallic tunic.

A101, A701, B101 (x2), B701, B202 mode 4

Wiltheim 1841, 323 & pl. XCVIII no. 478.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4104

T128 (plate XIX)

Neumagen

135-140 (Massow; 160-180 (Baltzer); early-mid 3rd cent.

(Nerzic); 2nd half 3rd cent. (Hatt)

50x75x46

L

Fragment from a large monument with relief scenes on three sides.

1. Front: Meal scene (cf. T24). A husband and wife sit facing each other across a small table. The man is bearded and wears an unusually long Gallic tunic with a cloak around his shoulders which is not the usual Gallic cape. He pats a dog at his feet. The woman wears a Gallic tunic with undergarment and a rectangular cloak across her shoulders and chest. Her hair is curly and tied up into what looks like a band or a bonnet at the back of her head. Between them behind the table, two women stand in long Gallic tunics, the one on the left with the cloak across her shoulders and chest and bringing a dish of food. She has open, long hair. Both have cloths thrown over their right shoulders. Hettner sees these as two servants bringing food, the cloths being serving towels. Espérandieu sees them as the daughters of the couple.

2. Left: A bearded man in a short Gallic tunic and apron weighs something on large scales. Von Massow suggests it may be wool (79).

3. Right: Two bearded men in Gallic tunics, one with a hood, sit on stools. One passes a small bowl or cup to the other. Behind them, a woman in a Gallic tunic holding what looks like a cup. Von Massow (78) interprets these as servants having their meal together. Hettner believes it is a scene of one man greeting the other in the hooded tunic who has just arrived from a journey, hence the outdoor clothes.

1: Man: A101, cloak?; Seated woman: B101, B102, B202 mode 2, B701(?); Woman bringing food: B101, B202 mode 2; Other woman: B101. Böhme cites these tunics as examples of the 3rd-cent. Gallic tunic, but the sleeves are too wide to be comparable to other examples, e.g. from Arlon.

2: A101, A601

3: A101 (x2), B101

Hettner 1903, 6; Massow 1932, no. 12, page 78f., pl. 12; Hatt 1966, 79 & pl. VII f.; Baltzer 1983, 28; Böhme 1985, 432 & pl. III, 7; Nerzic 1989, 253; 259.

RLT 10032

Espérandieu VI 5155; VIII 6382

T129 (plates XIX & XX)

Neumagen

180- 185

Whole monument over 5m high (Massow)

S

“Schulreliefpfeiler”: Various fragments from a large grave pillar. Nothing remains of the portraits, only various relief scenes from everyday life, including the famous school scene, have survived.

1. A drink storage room. Various vessels on a table in the background. A butler prepares drinks, presumably for a family having dinner in a scene to the right, which is broken away (cf. T62). He has a beard and wears a Gallic tunic with undergarment.

2. In front of an arched doorway, two standing men, presumably clerks, wearing Gallic tunics, one writing on a *codex*, the other counting on his hands. A scene from

the professional life of the *paterfamilias*, perhaps counting goods as they arrive or leave a courtyard.

3. Office scene: Two men in Gallic tunics, one seated, one standing, behind a desk with an ink pot on it. They are looking into a register.

4. School scene: Two boys in Gallic tunics and undergarments sit in armchairs and hold open scrolls on their laps. A third boy in a Gallic tunic approaches on foot from the right, holding a bundle of *codices* and waving in greeting. Between the two seated pupils, the bearded teacher in a Gallic tunic and undergarment turns to the boy who has just arrived/is just leaving.

1: A101, A102

2: A101 (x2)

3: A101 (x2)

4: A101 (x4), A102 (x4)

Hettner 1903, 21-23; Loeschke 1932, 33; Massow 1932, no. 180, page 132-142, fig. 81-92, pl. 27-28; Wild 1985, pl. III, 6; Böhme 1985, pl. 434 & IV, 9; Numrich 1997, 100-106; 133.

RLT 9921; 9940; 10015; 10025; 11203; 11644

Espérandieu VI 5149

T130

Neumagen

2nd half of 2nd cent.

60x94x75

S

Fragment of a relief scene showing a couple in a two-wheeled wagon. The woman wears a Gallic tunic and the man a Gallic tunic and cape.

Woman: B101; Man: A101, A201

Massow 1932, no. 309, page 219, fig. 135, pl. 60.

RLT 9997

-

T131

Neumagen

2nd half of 2nd cent.

42x32x22

L

Fragment of a relief scene from a large monument showing a girl wearing a Gallic tunic. Almost certainly a servant girl from a hairdressing scene.

B101

Massow 1932, no. 42, page 89, pl. 14.

RLT 04,298

-

T132

Neumagen

2nd half of 2nd cent.

25x47x24

L

Fragment of a relief scene from a large monument showing a man wearing a Gallic tunic with the sleeves rolled up working a round object with both hands. The man may be a baker kneading dough.

A101

Massow 1932, no. 45, page 90, pl. 14.

RLT 9917

-

T133

Neumagen

2nd half of 2nd cent.

20x57x26

L

Fragment of a relief scene showing the middle parts of two men wearing Gallic tunics. The one on the right has a walking stick and a satchel hung across his chest and seems to be handing the other man something. Massow believes the man with the stick is a farmer.

A101 (x2)

Massow 1932, no. 46, page 90, pl. 14.

RLT 10888

Espérandieu VI 5191

T134

Neumagen

2nd half of 2nd cent.

26x18x11

L

Fragment of a relief scene showing the head of a man with curly hair and a full beard wearing a Gallic cap.

A701

Massow 1932, no. 52, page 91, pl. 18.

RLT 11647

-

T135

Neumagen

Late 2nd/3rd cent.

55x41x70

S

Fragment of a relief scene showing the middle part of a woman wearing a Gallic tunic and rectangular cloak with tassels on the end holding a plate of fruit.

B101, B202

Massow 1932, no. 209, page 181, pl. 42.

RLT 9972

Espérandieu VI 5190

T136

Neumagen

Late 2nd/3rd cent.

14x38x35

S

Fragment of a relief scene showing the chest of a man wearing a Gallic tunic with a cloth over his shoulder, suggesting he is a servant.

A101

Massow 1932, no. 357, page 226, pl. 62.

RLT 26,22

-

T137

Neumagen

Late 2nd/3rd cent.

15x28x22

S

Fragment of a relief scene showing the chest of a man wearing a Gallic tunic with a cloth over his shoulder, suggesting he is a servant.

A101
Massow 1932, no. 358, page 226, pl. 62.
RLT
-

T138

Neumagen
Late 2nd/3rd cent.
13.5x21.5x15.5
S
Fragment of a relief scene showing the chest of a man wearing a Gallic tunic.
A101
Massow 1932, no. 360, page 227, pl. 62.
RLT
-

T139

Neumagen
Late 2nd/3rd cent.
12x27x25
S
Fragment of a relief scene showing the chest of a man wearing a Gallic tunic and undergarment.
A101, A102
Massow 1932, no. 362, page 227, pl. 62.
RLT
-

T140

Neumagen
Late 2nd/3rd cent.
34x24x16
S
Fragment of a relief scene showing the chest of a man wearing a Gallic cape.
A201
Massow 1932, no. 363, page 227, pl. 62.
RLT 14572
-

T141

Neumagen
Late 2nd/3rd cent.
17.5x25x10
S
Fragment of a relief scene showing the chest of a man wearing a Gallic tunic.
A101
Massow 1932, no. 364, page 227, pl. 62.
RLT 11109
-

T142

Neumagen
Late 2nd/3rd cent.
65x71x48
S
Fragment of a relief scene showing a woman wearing a long, draped but otherwise unidentifiable garment having her hair done by two servants in girt 3rd-cent. Gallic tunics.

Servants: B101 (x2)
Massow 1932, no. 314, page 220, pl. 60.
RLT 745
Espérandieu VI 5189

T143

Neumagen
Late 2nd/3rd cent.
Together: 76.5x163x19
S
Two fragments of a hunting relief scene from a large monument showing two hunting dogs and the back part of a rider wearing a Gallic tunic and cape.
A101, A201
Massow 1932, no. 307, page 218, pl. 59.
RLT 776, 973
Espérandieu VI 5172

T144

Neumagen
Late 2nd/3rd cent.
60x31x44
S
Fragment of a relief scene showing a man standing and holding a large, long instrument. He is wearing a girt Gallic tunic with the sleeves rolled up and leg wrappings. Von Massow believes the man is hunting wild boar. On the side, part of an inscription.
[- - -] S IIIII [VIR - - -] | [- - -] PODA [- - -] | [- - -] AE ET [- - -] | [FI] LIO [- - -] | [FACIENDVM CVR] AVIT
A101, A402
Massow 1932, no. 308, page 218, pl. 59, 61 & 66.
RLT 9987
CIL XIII 4154; Espérandieu VI 5161

T145 (plate XX)

Neumagen
Early 3rd cent.
60x141x54
S
Fragment of a relief scene from a large monument showing four bearded men in Gallic tunics, undergarments and capes, two with satchels hung across their chests, standing behind three men in Gallic tunics and undergarments tending to a large pile of coins, a basket of coins, and a large register on a table. The former are probably farmer tenants, the latter clerks seeing to the rent transactions. Espérandieu believes this is part of the T47 above, von Massow dismisses this possibility on stylistic grounds (132).
A101 (x7), A102 (x7), A201 (x4)
Hettner 1903, 16f.; Massow 1932, no. 303, page 215-217, pl. 59; Wild 1985, pl. III,7; Heinen 1985, 160, fig. 58.
RLT 739
Espérandieu VI 5148

T146

Neumagen
Circa 215
Whole monument over 3m high (Massow)
S
“Tuchhandelpfeiler”: Fragments of a grave pillar show-

ing the right-hand part of a cloth-selling scene: a man in a Gallic tunic holds up a piece of cloth for inspection by a customer. All that remains is the top half of the employee and part of the cloth.

A101

Massow 1932, no. 183, page 154-156, fig. 104-105, pl. 26.

RLT 30,29; 30,31; 9962, 11074

Espérandieu VI 5166

T147

Neumagen

Circa 215

Whole monument over 8m high (Massow)

S

“Zirkusdenkmal”: Various fragments of a large grave pillar. Nothing remains of the portraits on the front, only various scenes from the frieze survive.

1. On both sides of the frieze in the corners, two almost identical scenes: men in short tunics with bands wound around their waists prepare horses for a race. Between them was a racing scene, the remains of which can be seen attached to the scenes depicting five of the six *metae* used to mark the turning points on the track. A small fragment of a head may be one of the jockeys.

2. The right hand part of a rent-paying scene showing a bearded man, presumably a clerk, wearing a Gallic tunic with undergarment and leg wrappings bent over a pile of coins on a desk. Behind him, a man wearing a Gallic cape holds a sack over his shoulder.

3. Office scene: An older (bald) man in a Gallic tunic and undergarment sits at a desk writing something into a register. To the left, five other figures in the same clothing face him. One tends to something indecipherable on a table, another is counting on his fingers, another brings a sack in over his shoulder. In the background, a bearded man in a Gallic tunic and Gallic cape walks away from the scene. Another man in a Gallic cape opens a register. Massow (145) and Hettner (13f.) interpret the scene as the sale of goods.

1: Jockeys' tunics ? (x2)

2: Clerk: A101, A102, A402; Other man: A101, A201

3: Clerks: A101 (x5), A102 (x5); Other men: A101 (x2), A201 (x2)

Hettner 1903, 13-16; Massow 1932, no. 182, page 143-154, fig. 93-103, pl. 29-31; Baltzer 1983, 29ff.; 98 no. 29, fig. 17; 18; 21; 22; 62; Numrich 1997, 110f; 133.

RLT 30,15; 119; 9932; 9949; 10014; 10027; 10028; 10029; 10046; 10055; 10057; 10063; 10065; 10082; 11076; 11105

Espérandieu VI 5175

T148 (plates XX & XXI)

Neumagen

Before 220

Various fragments, all approx. 55cm high and 40cm deep. Width varies from 57cm to 174cm

S

Various fragments from the gable of a large monument showing part of a meal scene: a woman sits to the left of a table with dishes of fruit and a thick tablecloth on it. Three men behind it wear Gallic tunics. The woman

wears a rectangular cloak around her shoulders and arms, two of the men a scarf-like cloth hung in an arch across the chest.

Woman: B101, B202 mode 1; Men: A101 (x3), cape? (x2)

Massow 1932, no. 261, page 197f. pl. 50; Baltzer 1983, 33, 107 no. 92, fig. 33; Nerzic 1989, 258f.; 261; Numrich 1997, 133.

RLT 9990 c; 742; 743; 10081

Espérandieu VI 5154

T149

Neumagen

Circa 220

Ships approx. 3m long

S

Sculptures in the round of two ships laden with wine barrels, each with six rowers on either side, two helmsmen and a cox. Most of the men have moustaches and/or beards. They wear Gallic tunics with undergarments. It is unclear where this was placed on the funerary monument - most likely on the top. It suggests an involvement of the person/people the monument was made for in wine transport. Ellmers has suggested the ship is in fact a military ship, not a normal merchant ship and, as such, the family were selling wine to the military. This conclusion, however, is based on the numbers and proportions of crew members to size and number of barrels, which may have been chosen merely on the basis of artistic considerations by the mason.

A101 (x28), A102 (x28)

Massow 1932, no. 287, page 203-207, fig. 123-127, pl. 54-55; Ellmers 1978, 1-14; Heinen 1985, 147 & fig. 51.

RLT 9990 c; 742; 743; 10081

Espérandieu VI 5193; 5198

T150

Neumagen

Circa 220

Ship approx 150cm long

S

Badly damaged sculpture in the round of a ship laden with wine barrels, with only four rowers visible. Three of the men have beards. The ones that are decipherable wear Gallic tunics with undergarments. Cf. 149.

A101 (x3), A102 (x3)

Massow 1932, no. 288, page 207-209, fig. 128-129, pl. 55.

RLT 9925; 9931; 11075

Espérandieu VI 5184

T151

Neumagen

Circa 225

65x117x18

S

Fragment of a relief scene showing a man in a horse-drawn wagon wearing a Gallic tunic and cape.

A101, A201

Massow 1932, no. 229, page 184, pl. 43; Numrich 1997, 133.

RLT 972

T152

Neumagen

Circa 225

57x80x47

S

Fragment showing part of a relief meal scene. Two men recline behind a table wearing 3rd-cent. Gallic tunics, a servant in a 3rd-cent. Gallic tunic passes one of them a cup. A woman sits in a chair next to the table with a basket of fruit in her lap. She wears a Gallic tunic and rectangular cloak with a fringe along the hem.

Men and servant: A101 (x3); Woman: B101, B202

Massow 1932, no. 310, page 220, pl. 59; Baltzer 1983, 107 no. 93, fig. 123.

RLT 10042

Espérandieu VI 5146

T153

Neumagen

Circa 225

65x186x37

S

Bottom left fragment of a meal relief scene showing a square-shaped bottle in a basket, a table with jugs on it, the bottom half of a servant in a Gallic tunic and woollen socks and the bottom half of a woman sitting at a table with a thick tablecloth. She is holding a basket of fruit and wearing a Gallic tunic with an apron on her lap. Espérandieu put these fragments together with T148.

B101 (x2), B601

Massow 1932, no. 260, page 197, pl. 50.

RLT 9990 e & d

Espérandieu VI 5154

T154

Neumagen

Circa 250 (Massow), 270-280 (Koethe 1935, 222)

69x97x86

S

Badly damaged fragment of a relief scene showing a man wearing a toga.

A301

Massow 1932, no. 467, page 250-252, fig. 146-148, pl. 64.

In Trittenheim, as the foundation block of a pilgrimage cross.

-

T155

Neumagen

270-280

95x59x33

S

Fragment of a relief scene showing a woman wearing a long, draped but otherwise unidentifiable garment having her hair done by a servant in a 3rd-cent. Gallic tunic.

B101

Massow 1932, no. 462, page 248, pl. 64.

RLT 16,66

Espérandieu X 7597

T156

Neumagen

Circa 270-280

60x76x47

S

Bottom fragment from a large monument with an inscription on the front and two relief scenes on the sides.

1. A man wearing a 3rd-cent. Gallic tunic and cape gestures with one arm to his front and the other to his chest. It is unclear what he is doing.

2. A man in a short 3rd-cent. Gallic tunic pours something from an amphora into a large bucket-shaped container.

D(IIS) M(ANIBVS)] | ATEPON[I]VS ATO | SENVRIAE | SEVERAE | CONIVGI DEF[VNCTI] | ET SIBI VIV[O] F[ECIT]

Ateponius and Senuria are Celtic (Weisgerber 315f.). Ato is Celtic/Germanic (Atto) (Freigang 1997a, 388; Rémy 107). Severa is Latin (Freigang 1997a, 397).

1: A101, A201

2: A101

Massow 1932, no. 188, page 174, pl. 42; Weisgerber 1935, 315f.; Rémy 2001, 107.

RLT 11568

CIL XIII 4162; Espérandieu VI 5162

T157

Buzenol-Montauban

Late 2nd/early 3rd cent.

58x155x55

L

Corner fragment from a large monument showing relief scenes on the front and side.

1. Front: Meal scene. Two women in Gallic tunics with their hair in low buns sitting to the left and right of a table. Two men sitting behind the table wear Gallic tunics. A servant wearing a Gallic tunic approaches from the left.

2. Side: A man in a girt Gallic tunic works a *vallus* through a grain crop.

1: Women: B101 (x3); Men: A101

2: A101

Renard 1959, 221 no. 11; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 113 with further literature.

Buzenol-Montauban, Parc archéologique 58 Bu 19/20

-

T158

Buzenol-Montauban

Late 2nd/1st half of 3rd cent.

63x120x57

L

Fragment from a large monument showing part of a scene in which something is being weighed on scales by two men. A third is writing in a *codex*. All wear Gallic tunics.

A101 (x3)

Marien 1943a, 28ff. no. 12, fig. 31-32; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 115 with further literature.

Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels 2125R

Espérandieu XIV 838

T159

Buzenol-Montauban
Late 2nd/1st half of 3rd cent.
47x98x58

L

Badly damaged block fragment with a relief scene showing part of a horse on one side and a man wearing a Gallic tunic and cape and carrying a staff or goad on the other.

A101, A201

De Loë 1937, 354, fig. 65; Mariën 1944a, 38f.

Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels

Espérandieu V (Suppl.) 8386

T160

Buzenol-Montauban

Circa 200

45x82x49

-

Fragment with part of an inscription on the front and relief scenes on the sides.

1. Two men in sleeved Gallic capes in a wagon pulled by two horses.

2. Two men, one a Gallic tunic, the other in a Gallic cape, holding a piece of cloth between them.

D(IIS) M(ANIBVS) [- - -] L(VCIO) VEIO ET L[- - -] ELISSVS ET [- - -] ET AFRA FILIA VIV[I FEC(E)RVNT]

The names Lucius Veiuis (*ILB*) and Afra (*ILB* 90) are Latin. Elissus is Celtic (*ILB*).

1: A201 (x2)

2: A101, A201

Renard 1959, 221 no. 10; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 114 with further literature.

Buzenol-Montauban, Parc archéologique 58 Bu 45

ILB 127

T161

Buzenol-Montauban

210-220

96x66x37

L

Bottom right-hand fragment of a relief scene showing the legs of a man in a Gallic tunic sitting at a desk with a locked compartment and looking into a *codex*. Another man stands behind the desk and counts coins, only his hands are visible.

A101 (x2)

Mertens 1958, 39f., no. 30, pl. 25; Renard 1959, 7, fig. 1, 8 no. 1; Baltzer 1983, 38; 51ff.; 99 no. 37, fig. 67;

Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 116 with further literature.

Buzenol-Montauban, Parc archéologique 58 Bu 30

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T162 (plate XXI)

Dalheim

3rd cent. (tunic and woman's hairstyle)

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Fragment of a relief scene, now lost and only preserved in a drawing by Wiltheim. It shows a couple reclining with a child between them. The child moves towards the man. The man and the child wear 3rd-cent. Gallic tunics. It is unclear what the woman is wearing but she has her

hair in a low bun. To the left of the scene, a large vessel on a pedestal.

D(IIS) M(ANIBVS) | GERMANIA GERMANIOLAE
DEFVNC(TAE) | VIV(A) [P(OSVIT)]

Cognomina beginning German- are not uncommon throughout the western empire (*OPEL* II, 165f.). The origins of Germania and Germaniola are uncertain. They are not Latin but also not definitely Celtic (Weisgerber 331).

A101 (x2)

Wiltheim 1841, 275 & pl. LXXIX no. 335; Weisgerber 1935, 331; Kajanto 1965, 38; 167. See Espérandieu for further literature.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4211

T163 (plate XIX)

Weiler-la-Tour

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-

-

Fragment of a relief scene, now lost and only preserved in a drawing by Wiltheim. It shows the bottom half of a man in a Gallic tunic going up a flight of stairs and the top half of a man in a Gallic tunic reading a *codex*.

A101 (x2)

Wiltheim 1841, 306 & pl. XCII no. 429.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4209

T164 (plate XXI)

Eppeldorf

3rd cent. (tunics)

-

-

Two fragments of a relief scene, now lost and only preserved in a drawing by Wiltheim. It shows a woman in a 3rd-cent. Gallic tunic sitting in an armchair having her hair done by a servant in a 3rd-cent. Gallic tunic. A second servant in a 3rd-cent. Gallic tunic approaches with arms outstretched.

B101 (x3)

Wiltheim 1841, 300 & pl. LXXXVIII no. 395.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4237

T165 (plate XXI)

Monderkange

-

-

-

Fragment of a relief scene, now lost and only preserved in a drawing by Wiltheim. It shows two men in girt Gallic tunics, one steering two cattle pulling a plough, the other standing behind the plough.

A101 (x2)

Wiltheim 1841, 316 & pl. XCIV no. 456.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4243

T166 (plate XXII)

Remerschen-Mecheren

Mid 2nd cent.

66x43x34

Red S

Base and various fragments of a grave pillar. One fragment shows a relief scene of a man and a woman wearing Gallic tunics riding in a wagon. The woman's hair is in a low bun. Other fragments show a relief frieze with vines and a vigneron picking grapes, as well as the wine goddess Vitis and dancing figures. No fragments of the main portraits have been found, save for perhaps a head mentioned by Thill. The monument seems to be linked to the villa complex near where it was found, the people depicted may have been its owners. The estate produced wine.

A101, B101

Renard 1959, 222 no. 14; Wilhelm 1974, 29 no. 142; Thill 1972; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 124 with further literature.

Mus. Hist. Art, Lux. 102; 103; 1935-2065

Espérandieu V 4203

T167

Remerschen-Mecheren

-

50x85x47

-

Fragment of a relief scene showing the top half of a man in a Gallic tunic bent over a container between two grape vines.

A101

Wilhelm 1974, 39 no. 280

Mus. Hist. Art, Lux.

Espérandieu V 4212

T168 (plates XXII & XXIV)

Unknown. Luxembourg area

Late 1st or 2nd cent. (Espérandieu); early 3rd cent. (Renard 18)

60x132x66

L

Top right hand fragment of a large niche with a frieze on the front and another relief scene on the side.

1. Frieze: Office scene. A woman in a Gallic tunic stands behind a desk and takes something out of (or puts something into) a cup. A man in a Gallic tunic standing at the table gives or receives whatever is being put into or taken out of the cup (money?). Another man in a Gallic tunic stands behind him (waiting his turn?). A third walks away from the scene holding a bag. Behind him are a man in a hooded Gallic cape and a woman in a Gallic tunic facing each other. A man wearing a Gallic tunic sits in a chair behind a desk and presides over the transaction. Espérandieu believed the woman is begging and the man is getting money out of a bag he is holding. There is at least one other figure standing behind the chair, but the scene is damaged here. The scene may depict tenants paying rent or an employer paying his workers. The woman dealing with the money in the office scene while the man sits back and watches is unusual – women are rarely depicted working (Freigang 333).

2. Side: A man in a girt Gallic tunic at the base of a tree grappling with a large structure resembling a wooden

pallet. A woman stands next to him wearing a Gallic tunic.

1: Women: B101 (x2); Men: A101 (x4), A201

2: Man: A101; Woman: B101

Thill 1969a, no. 38; Renard 1959, 18 no. 16; Wilhelm 1974, no 276; Baltzer 1983, 52; 99, no. 39; 129, fig. 68; Freigang 1997a, 333f. & cat. no. Trev 142.

Mus. Hist. Art, Lux. 523

Espérandieu V 4149

T169 (plate XXI)

Unknown. Luxembourg area

2nd-3rd cent.

53x100x67

L

Fragment showing relief scenes on two sides.

1. Meal scene: A man wearing a Gallic tunic reclines on a couch behind a small table. A woman sits at the table. She wears a Gallic tunic and a rectangular cloak around her shoulders. According to a drawing by Wiltheim when the stone was more complete, the woman wore a bonnet. Two servants in girt Gallic tunics carried vessels and a man in a Gallic cape played a flute.

(2. According to Wiltheim, there was a scene on the side showing three men in Gallic tunics walking in single file and holding sticks and hook-shaped tools.)

1. Man: A101; Woman: B101, B202 mode 1, B701; (Servants A101 (x2); Flute player: A201)

(2. A101 (x3))

Wilhelm 1974, 38 no. 277; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 143 with further literature.

Mus. Hist. Art, Lux. 1262

Espérandieu V 4158

T170 (plate XXII)

Unknown. Luxembourg area

Circa 225

73x107x90

L

Fragment from a large monument showing scenes from everyday life above and below arches on the two sides and the bottom of an inscription above a meal scene on the front.

1. Front: Below the inscription inside the arch, a meal scene showing two men in Gallic tunics reclining (Cf. Espérandieu who believes one of these is a woman) and a woman in a Gallic tunic with a rectangular cloak around her shoulders sitting at a table. A second woman in a girt Gallic tunic leans on the back of the other woman's chair. A child or a servant in a loose tunic holds a pitcher and a board (Espérandieu suggests this has cakes on it).

2. Left side: A horse and wagon above an arch. Inside the arch, three men in girt Gallic tunics are tying up a large bundle of cloth with rope. The family are evidently cloth merchants (Freigang 332). For a similar depiction, see T62.

3. Right side: Above the arch, the legs of a man in a Gallic cape and the bottom of a basket. Inside the arch, a seated woman having her hair done by two servants, one of which holds a mirror. All wear 3rd-cent. Gallic tunics.

[F]RATRI ET PATRIBVS | [- - -] C(VRAVIT)

1: Men: A101 (x2); Women: B101, B202 mode 1, B101

2: A101 (x3)
 3: Man: A201; Women: B101 (x3)
 Wilhelm 1974, no. 278; Raepsaet 1982, 223 no. 15;
 Baltzer 1983, 38f.; 64ff.; 74 note 313; 80; 104, no. 73;
 107 no. 97, fig. 102; Freigang 1997a, 332 & cat. no. Trev
 141 with further literature.
 Mus. Hist. Art, Lux. 142 lap. 16
 CIL XIII 4285; Espérandieu V 4156

T171

Unknown. Luxembourg area

-
 -
 -

Fragment of a relief scene, now lost and only preserved
 in a drawing by Wiltheim. It shows two women, one
 standing, one sitting, by a table with a dish and fruit on it.
 The table is elaborately decorated. The standing woman
 is wearing a *tunica* and *palla*, the sitting woman a sleeve-
 less dress.

Standing woman: B106, B203; Seated woman: ?
 Wiltheim 1841, 177 & pl. XXXIV no. 127. For further
 literature see Espérandieu.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4184

T172 (plate XXIII)

St. Wendel

Early 3rd cent.

76x85x27

S

Fragment from a large monument showing a cloth in-
 spection scene: two young men wearing Gallic tunics
 face each other pulling a piece of fabric with a fringe
 along the hem between them. Behind them is a curtain
 and some shelves with bundles of folded cloth.

A101 (x2)

Wightman 1970, 186; pl. 18b; Baltzer 1983, 29; 38; 40f.;
 94 no. 1; 121 fig. 38; Nerzic 1989, 124; Roche-Bernard
 1993, 134; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Med (!) 146 with
 further literature.

RLT St. W. 120

Espérandieu VI 5123

T173

St Wendel

-

40x54x26

S

Fragment of a relief scene. All that is discernable is the
 top part of a bearded man wearing a Gallic cape.

A201

Hettner 1893, 115, no. 248.

RLT

Espérandieu VI 5098

T174

Kastel

Mid-late 3rd cent.

62x38x40

Red S

Block fragment showing relief scenes on two sides.

Probably the cornerstone of a large monument.

1. Right hand part of a meal scene: a woman seated in a
 round armchair wearing a Gallic tunic and rectangular
 cloak across her shoulders and chest. Her hair is in a low
 bun. She has a bunch of grapes on her lap. Behind her
 stands a female servant in a girt 3rd-cent. Gallic tunic.

2. A man standing behind a workbench working on
 something rectangular with a rectangular instrument
 (probably a plane). He wears a short, short-sleeved tunic.

1: Woman: B101, B202; Servant: B101

2: A101 (?)

See Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 127 for literature.

RLT PM 17237

Espérandieu VI 5118

T175 (plate XXIII)

Ruwertal

2nd/early 3rd cent.

52x84x55

S

Badly damaged block fragment showing relief scenes on
 four sides.

1. Nothing remains but a jug in the left hand corner.

2. A man standing at a counter with wine barrels behind
 him. One can just make out the side of the hood of a
 Gallic cape.

3. Two women sitting. Both wear Gallic tunics, one has a
 rectangular cloak around her shoulders and wears a bon-
 net. The woman without the cloak has a basket of fruit on
 her lap.

4. Two men standing wearing fringed Gallic capes.

2: A201

3: B101 (x2), B202 mode 1, B701

4: A201 (x2)

Loeschke 1932, 19f. fig. 16; Baltzer 1983, 46; 47; 97, no.
 22; Cüppers/Laufner/Faas 1987, 118 no. 56; Freigang
 1997a, cat. no. Trev 21 with further literature.

RLT 00,362

Espérandieu X 7591

T176

Ruwertal

3rd cent.

36x152x54

-

Fragment showing the top part of a badly damaged relief
 scene in which two men drive horse-drawn wagons. They
 both wear 3rd-cent. Gallic tunics and one a Treveran
 hooded cape.

Men: A101 (x2), A203

Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 20.

RLT 00,361

-

T177

Grüneberg/Ruwertal

-

34x50x19

S

Fragment of a relief meal scene showing parts of two
 figures behind a table laden with food. They are wearing
 3rd-cent. Gallic tunics. The bottom part of a woman

seated at the table is visible on the left. She wears a long tunic with a calf-length overgarment.

Standing figures: B101 (x2); Seated woman: ?

Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 22.

RLT 34,33; 70,117

Espérandieu XI 7806

T178

Jünkerath

2nd cent

117x73x18

-

Block fragment from a large monument showing parts of two badly damaged relief scenes.

Top: A man in a Gallic cape and a woman in a Gallic tunic in a horse-drawn wagon.

Bottom: Two men in Gallic tunics tending a sailing ship, almost certainly cargo transport on the Moselle.

Top: Man: A201; Woman: B101

Bottom: A101 (x2)

Renard 1959, 226 no. 24; RLT 1983, no. 45; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 1; Willer 2005, no. 74 with further literature.

RLT PM 11408

Espérandieu VI 5261

T179

Jünkerath

2nd/3rd cent.

53x104x58

-

Fragment of a relief scene showing two figures hunting on horseback wearing Gallic tunics and shoulder capes.

A101 (x2), A202 (x2)

Bechert 1982, 141; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 3; Willer 2005, no. 75 (a) with further literature.

RLT PM 12126

Espérandieu VI 5267

T180

Jünkerath

2nd/3rd cent.

64x120x25

L

Fragment of a badly damaged relief scene showing three people sitting behind a driver in a wagon drawn by two horses. All wear Gallic capes.

Driver: A201; Passengers: A201 (x3)

Lehner 1918, 290 no. 716; 1924, 147. For further literature, see Lehner 1918.

RLB U209

-

T181

Jünkerath

2nd/3rd cent.

55x116x89

-

Fragment of a relief scene showing the bottom part of three men hunting with dogs. They wear girt Gallic tunics.

Men: A101 (x3)

Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 4; Willer 2005, no. 75 (b) with further literature.

RLT 16,537

Espérandieu X 7599

T182

Jünkerath

Early 3rd cent.

71x98x19

-

Fragment of a badly damaged relief scene showing a man in Gallic tunic and cape sitting behind a desk in a shop. A man wearing a Gallic tunic stands in front of the desk holding a board. A woman in a Gallic tunic holds a small barrel.

Man sitting: A101, A201; Man standing: A101; Woman: B101

Renard 1959, 14 no. 9; Freigang 1997a, cat. no. Trev 2; Willer 2005, no. 78 with further literature.

RLT PM 12122

Espérandieu VI 5243

T183

Virton

3rd cent. (tunics)

-

Fragment of a scene, now lost and only preserved in a drawing by Wiltheim. It shows a woman with long hair sitting on a chair with a square object in front of her (a box?). She is approached by a second woman carrying a small bottle. Both wear 3rd-cent. Gallic tunics. A man approaches behind the chair wearing a 3rd-cent. Gallic tunic and a Gallic cape and carrying two unidentifiable long instruments.

B101 (x2), A101, A201

Wiltheim 1841, 223 & pl. XCVIII no. 475.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4115

T184 (plate XXIII)

Unknown. Treveran area

2nd/3rd cent.

-

-

Fragment of a scene, now lost and only preserved in a drawing by Wiltheim. It shows two men in Gallic tunics sitting either side of a desk. One reads, the other is smelling or drinking something from a small bottle. Schlipp-schuh interprets the stone as belonging to either a wine merchant or an innkeeper. Either side of the scene are two large barrels with the letters D(IIS) M(ANIBVS).

A101 (x2)

Wiltheim 1841, 185 & pl. XLIII no. 158; Schlipp-schuh 1974, 35f. For further literature see Espérandieu.

Lost

CIL XIII 4286; Espérandieu V 4161

T185 (plate XXIV)

Unknown. Treveran area

1st half of 3rd cent. (tunics)

-

-
Fragment of a scene, now lost and only preserved in a drawing by Wiltheim. It shows a man sitting with a register on his lap observing the counting of money which has been emptied from a large sack onto the table in front of him. Two men stand behind the table seeing to the money. All wear 3rd-cent. Gallic tunics.

A101 (x3)

Wiltheim 1841, 12 & pl. IV no. 8; Renard 1959, 17 no. 15. For further literature see Espérandieu.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4148

T186 (plate XXIII)

Unknown. Treveran area

-
-
-

Fragment of a scene, now lost and only preserved in a drawing by Wiltheim. It shows a man in a Gallic tunic sacrificing at an altar.

A101

Wiltheim 1841, 192 & pl. XLVI no. 171.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4142

T187 (plate XXIV)

Unknown. Treveran area

-
-
-

Fragment of a scene, now lost and only preserved in a drawing by Wiltheim. It shows three men in girt Gallic tunics working the ground with long implements.

A101 (x3)

Wiltheim 1841, 8 & pl. III no. 6. For further literature see Espérandieu.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4147

T188 (plate XXIV)

Unknown. Treveran area

-
-
-

Fragment of a scene, now lost and only preserved in a drawing by Wiltheim. It shows a foot and lower calf of a man wearing loose trousers with a cuff at the ankle.

A401

Wiltheim 1841, 165 & pl. XXIV no. 88.

Lost

Espérandieu V 4181

Middle Rhine Area:

Portrait Stones:

M1 (plate XXIV)

Mainz

14-37

150x75x30

L

Intact *stela* showing, above the inscription, a full-figure niche relief portrait of a young man standing between two horses. The man wears a *tunica*, scarf and *sagum* pinned with a brooch on his right shoulder.

A103, A205, A502

Q(VINTVS) VOLTIVS Q(VINTI) F(ILIVS) | VIATOR
AN(NORVM) XVI | H(IC) S(ITVS) E(ST) | MATER ET PATER |
PRO PIETAT(E) POSV | ERE

Voltius is common in central Italy (Alföldy 1969, 326). The cognomen Viator could derive from his job as messenger (hence the horses?).

Koepp 1924, 15; 41; pl. XIX,2; Gerster 1938, 37-59; Alföldy 1969, 326; Kronemayer 1983, 110; 175. For further literature see *CSIR*.

MLM S 150

CIL XIII 7123; Espérandieu VII 5795; *CSIR Deutschland* II,6 no. 13

M2

Mainz

14-37

88x68x31

L

Top part of a *stela* showing a full or half-figure niche relief portrait of a man from the chest up. He wears a *tunica* and toga.

A103, A301

-

See *CSIR* for literature.

MLM S 120

CSIR Deutschland II,6 no. 17

M3

Mainz

14-37

225x89x39

L

Badly damaged *stela* showing a larger than life-sized seated niche relief portrait of a man. Gabelmann and Andrikopolou-Strack see this figure as a woman. Boppert and most older literature rightly see it as a man: the hem of the tunic reaches to just below the knees. All that one can make out of the clothing is that the tunic is short-sleeved and that part of an overgarment hangs in semicircular folds between the legs. This latter is very unusual and finds its only remote parallel in a grave portrait from Este in northern Italy (Boppert 1992b, 28f. and fig. 8). The clothing (toga) on the portrait from Este does not, however, correspond with what remains of the clothing in this portrait. Boppert has rightly ruled out the toga due to the horizontal, not vertical, folds of the piece of garment between the legs (1996, 12). The bare arms and calves would also be unusual for a *togatus* and would also rule out a Gallic cape. As such, the man is most likely to be wearing a *pallium*, like others in the area from roughly the same period (e.g. M6, M17, M18 and perhaps M2). A hole has subsequently been worked into the lap of the figure.

A103, A204

[- - -] CELIMA SOLIMVTI F

Solimutus (*OPEL* IV, 87) is Celtic (Dondin-Payre 289).

Celima is unknown. Doubts have been raised as to whether the inscription was originally on the stone or inscribed later (Boppert 1996). The latter seems more likely due to the contrast between the high quality of the sculpture and the low quality of the inscription and the fact that the original inscription should, like all other stones of this type, have been on a separate space below the portrait (Boppert 1996, 13). For a discussion of the possible later use of the stone as a votive statue based on similar cases in Austria see Boppert 1996, 14-19. The fact that the top part of the figure has been rubbed down to a smooth plane raises the possibility that people ritually touched or rubbed the stone. The hole may have been used to hold water or fruit in a ritual context.

Gabelmann 1972, 82f.; 110; 132; Andrikopolou-Strack 1986, 67; 131; Boppert 1996; Hope 2001, 146; Dondin-Payre 2001, 289. For further literature see *CSIR*.
Städtisches Reiss-Museum, Mannheim Haug 57
CIL XIII 6773; Espérandieu VII 5836; *CSIR Deutschland* II,6 no. 8

M4 (plate XXIV)

Mainz (Frauenlobplatz)

25-37

94x60x34

L

Top part of a *stela* with a half-figure niche relief portrait of a woman. The portrait was originally of a man with curly hair and protruding ears, in the typical style of the early 1st cent. AD. The top of the head has been left and the woman's features have been worked in from the eyes down, with the effect that the relief below the eyes is much shallower. The woman's dress consists of a tight bodice, the neck slit on the chest of which is held together with cross and lunula-shaped fastenings (brooches? buttons?). Over this she wears a loose garment that is fastened on one shoulder with a large *fibula* and belted around the waist. She also wears a disc pendant around her neck. The dress of the woman is a matter of some debate. Traditionally it was seen as a stylised depiction of a variation of Menimane's ensemble, but recently Böhme-Schönberger has expounded the theory that the woman's outfit originated in the Near East. While she certainly has a point with regard to the overgarment that is pinned on the shoulder (such overtunics were the norm in Syria and Palestine and are unknown in the north-west), the rest of the woman's outfit does not correspond to this interpretation. The closest parallel for the tight bodice is Menimane's bodice, the vertical neck-slit of which Menimane fastens using small fibulae. The disc pendant is also a common feature of female portraits in this region, not only in the context of Menimane's ensemble. As such, the outfit must be identified as, at best, Menimane's ensemble with an eastern *peplos*-like tunic. Like Menimane, the woman from Frauenlobplatz holds a distaff.

B103, B801

-

Wild 1968b, 200, fig. 21; 1985, pl. XI 36; Böhme-Schönberger 1998/1999. For further literature see *CSIR*.

MLM S 952

CSIR Deutschland II,6 no. 12

M5 (plate XXV)

Mainz

41-54

45

L

Fragment of a slightly less than life-sized portrait statue of a man wearing a *tunica* and toga.

A103, A301

-

Kutsch 1930, 276

-

Espérandieu X 7381

M6

Mainz

Mid 1st cent.

169x51x35

L

Fragment of a *stela* showing a seated niche relief portrait of a man wearing a *tunica* and *pallium* (Cf. Kutsch who believes it is a toga) with a dog at his feet. He is holding a purse and a pine cone. His wife was presumably originally depicted to his right, but is now broken away. On the side face: a dancing Maenad and Attis.

A103, A204

-

Kutsch 1930, 274; Klumbach 1936, 36, fig. 4. For further literature see *CSIR*.

MLM S 142

Espérandieu VII 5823; *CSIR Deutschland* II,6 no. 6

M7

Mainz

2nd cent.

64x70x29

S

Fragment of a niche relief bust portrait of a couple. The woman wears a Gallic tunic and a rectangular cloak draped around the neck and shoulders. The man wears a Gallic tunic and cape.

Woman: B101, B202 mode 4; Man: A101, A201

D(IIS) M(ANIBVS) | [- - -] TERTINIO VI | TVLO ET AVVI | IIC [- - -]

The name Tertinius is Latin, but conspicuously common in Belgica and the Germanies (*OPEL* IV, 114). For Avvi see *OPEL* I, 106.

For literature see *CSIR*.

MLM S 1166

CIL XIII 7115; *CSIR Deutschland* II,6 no. 24

M8

Mainz

2nd cent.

105x73x26

S

Stela showing a small niche bust relief portrait in between the D and the M of the first line of the inscription. It is a child wearing a Gallic tunic and cape.

A101, A201

D(IIS) M(ANIBVS) | VITALINIO | GROMATIO | INFANTI DVL | CIS(S)IMO QVI | VIXIT AN(N)OS | X ME(N)SES III | DIGNIA [. .

.] | TIMA MA[TER] | F(ACIENDVM) C(VRAVIT)

Vitalinius may be a pseudo-*gentilicium* from Vitalis. Gromatius comes from the surveying instrument *groma* (Boppert with further literature). Dignia is Latin but uncommon, may be a pseudo-*gentilicium* from Digna/us (*OPEL* II, 100).

Kronemayer 1983, 119; 128; 140. For further literature see *CSIR*.

MLM S 521

CIL XIII 7122; *CSIR Deutschland* II,6 no. 26

M9

Mainz

-

57x110x74

-

Two fragments from a large monument, one with relief portraits, the other with an inscription.

1. A man wearing a *tunica* and toga, with a little girl in a Gallic tunic and rectangular cloak.

2. A woman wearing a Gallic tunic and rectangular cloak.

1: Man: A103, A301; Girl: B101, B202

2: B101, B202

[- - -] I I P F | [- - -] VO DAL | [- - -] AQVILIF | [- - -] P VICT | [- - -] (L)EG XIII GE | [- - -] LEG XIII GEM | [- - -] I I PRIM P F | [- - -] STIP XLV | [- - -] AN LXX

Willer 2005, no. 176

MLM S 1104 & 1105

CIL XIII 6952; Espérandieu X 7391; *CSIR Deutschland* II,5 no. 57

M10

Mainz-Weisenau

0-37

41x60x25

L

Middle fragment of a *stela* showing a niche relief portrait of a man in a *tunica* and *toga exigua*.

A103, A301,1

-

Stümpel 1980, 256 & pl. 55 top.

Private collection

CSIR Deutschland II,6 no. 10

M11

Mainz-Weisenau

Before 41

147x84x31

L

Bottom part of a *stela* with an inscription and a standing niche relief portrait of a man. He may be wearing a toga (?), the ends of which are decorated by tassels. The hanging position of cloth between the legs and the tassels suggest this may be a garment comparable to that of the Celima statue: cf. M3.

A103(?), A301,1(?)

GRATVS ATIACI | F(ILIVS) AN(NORVM) XXX | H(IC) S(ITVS) E(ST)

Gratus is a common Latin name (*OPEL* II, 171). Atiacus is otherwise unknown (*OPEL* I, 85).

Kronemayer 1983, 106; 187; Hope 2001, 169. For further literature see *CSIR*.

MLM S 133

CSIR Deutschland II,6, no. 11; II,8 no. 59

M12 (plate XXV)

Mainz-Weisenau

14-54

156x92x27

L

Stela, damaged on two corners, with a relief portrait on the front above an inscription, and a small boat scene on the back with a copy of the front inscription.

1. Front: Niche relief portrait of a couple sitting front-on with the boy standing behind them. The man wears a Gallic tunic and cape and a scarf around his neck and holds a purse. The woman wears the outfit now named after her: Menimane's bodice and overtunic, a rectangular cloak pinned to her shoulder, Menimane's bonnet and a great deal of jewellery, including a disc pendant. She has a small dog on her lap, a spindle and distaff in one hand and a round object in the other. Standing behind them, a young boy wearing a Gallic tunic or *tunica* with what has traditionally been interpreted as a *bullā* around his neck, but which as a result of recent finds in Wederath-*Belginum* is more likely to be a piece of bread (see discussion in section 'Dress and generation' in chapter 5).

2. Set into the first line of the inscription, Blussus' boat, manned by three rowers and a helmsman. The figures are too stylised to identify their clothing.

Grooves near Menimane's head suggest her face was covered until she died (Neeb 43).

1: Blussus: A101, A201, A501; Menimane: B103, B104, B202 mode 3, B701, B801; Boy: A101/A103

Front: BLVSSVS ATVS[IRI F(ILIVS), NAVTA] | AN(NORVM) LXXV H(IC) S(ITVS) E(ST) ME[NIMANE BRIGIO] | NIS F(ILIA) AN(NORVM) (vacat) VXSO[R VIVA SIBI FECIT] | SATTO VERN[AN --- H(IC) S(ITVS) E(ST) PRIMVS] | F(ILIVS) PARENTIBVS P[RO PIETATE POS(V)IT]

(can be completed because of the duplication of the inscription on the reverse)

Menimane is Celtic (Boppert 1992b, 20). Blussus is only known in the Treveran area (Boppert 1992b, 20; Weisgerber 1969, 140) and has been defined as indeterminate indigenous (Raepsaet-Charlier 364). Atusirus and Brigio are otherwise unattested (*OPEL* I, 92; 129), but there are names related to Atusirus (Atussia: Celtic, Raepsaet-Charlier 385). Satto is Celtic and otherwise widely attested (Boppert 1992b, 20; Holder 1891-1913, II 1378) but Kronemayer sees it as a Treveran name (Kronemayer 96). Primus is Roman (Boppert 1992b, 20).

Holder 1891-1913, II 1378; Neeb 1927, 42f.; Weisgerber 1935, 145; Hatt 1966, 49f.; Doppelfeld 1967, no. A 135; 1970, fig. 94; Kronemayer 1983, 96; 171; 187; Wild 1985, pl. II, 5; Böhme 1985, 425ff. & pl. I, 1; 2003; Schumacher 1988, 203; Nerzic 1989, 222-224; Raepsaet-Charlier 2001a, 364; 385. For further literature see *CSIR*. See Espérandieu for older literature.

MLM S 146

CIL XIII 7067; Espérandieu VII 5815; *CSIR Deutschland* II,6, no. 2

M13 (plate XXVI)

Mainz-Weisenau

14-37 (*CSIR*), 41-54 (Wild), 69-96 (Bracker in Doppelfeld)

144x91x45 Whole monument approx. 5.5m high (reconstruction Andrikopolou-Strack 179)

L

Block from a large *stela* showing a niche relief portrait of a couple, the woman standing, the man sitting. The woman wears a disc pendant around her neck. She also wears an unusual hair net or bonnet made of strands over the back part of her head, leaving the front part of her hair free for a ringlet hairstyle similar to that of Agrippina minor. Unlike Menimane (M12), however, she wears Roman clothing: a *tunica* and *palla* draped around her shoulders and over her left arm. She holds a *mappa* and wears a lot of jewellery (rings, bangles). Her husband, like Blussus, wears a Gallic tunic and cape with a scarf. He is holding a small flower, which has led some (e.g. *CSIR*) to refer to him as the "Weisenauer Gärtner". He wears a ring on his little finger. Small grooves next to the man's head, like those near Menimane's, suggest that this part of the portrait was covered until the man died (Neeb 43), suggesting the stone was made on the occasion of the woman's death and chosen by the man.

Woman: B103, B104, B203 mode 3, B801; Man: A101, A201, A501

-

Neeb 1927; Schoppa 1957, pl. 52; Schoppa 1963, pl. 6; Böhme 1974, fig. 35; Wild 1985, 393 & pl. XI, 37; Andrikopolou-Strack 1986, 39-42; 70f.; 179 N1; Nerzic 1989, 222-224. For further literature see Andrikopolou-Strack 179 and *CSIR*.

MLM S 321

Espérandieu X 7581; *CSIR Deutschland* II,6 no. 1

M14 (plate XXVI)

Mainz-Weisenau

3rd quarter of 1st cent.

130x65x18

S

Whole but damaged *stela* showing a relief meal scene above an inscription. A man reclines behind a table wearing a *tunica* and *pallium*. A servant, depicted much smaller, wearing a *tunica*, stands to the left.

Man: A103, A204; Servant: A103

CAPITO AUGURI | F(ILIVS) VETERANUS EX | COH(ORTE) II
RAETORU(M) | AN(NORUM) LII H(ERES) F(ACIENDUM)
C(URAVIT)

Capito is a common Latin name (*OPEL* II, 33). Augurius is Latin but quite uncommon (*OPEL* I, 95)

For literature see *CSIR*.

Museum Wiesbaden 21

CIL XIII 7246; Espérandieu VII 5867; *CSIR Deutschland* II,5 no. 53

M15

Selzen

14-45

87x70x28

L

Top part of a badly damaged *stela* showing a standing niche relief portrait of a couple. The woman wears a

tunica and *palla* enveloping her body. She is holding something unidentifiable at chest height. The man wears a short-sleeved tunic, a scarf and two further garments described by Klumbach before the stone had deteriorated to its current state: a short shoulder cape with tassels and a long cape with small medallions hanging off the bottom.

Woman: B106, B203 mode 7; Man: A103, A502, A205?

-

Klumbach 1936, 37-38, fig. 5; Goethert 2002, 101 note 123. For further literature see *CSIR*.

MLM S 957 (S 1358)

Espérandieu XIV 8525; *CSIR Deutschland* II,6 no. 9

M16

Selzen

1st half of 1st cent.

235x82x36

L

Right-hand fragment of a badly damaged *stela* showing a life-sized standing niche relief portrait of a man wearing a toga.

A103, A301

-

Klumbach 1936, 38, fig. 6.

MLM S 136

Espérandieu XIV 8526; *CSIR Deutschland* II,6 no. 14

M17

Selzen

Mid 1st cent.

174x90x35

L

Badly damaged *stela* showing a niche relief portrait of a couple, sitting front-on, with a girl standing behind them. Despite being almost completely broken away, one can make out the mid-calf length tunic of the man. One can also make out a thick bunch of fabric on his left shoulder, ruling out the possibility of the Gallic coat and leaving only the possibility of a toga or *pallium*. The straight seam indicates it is a *pallium*. His wife, seated to his right, is also wearing a *palla*, suggested by a similar bunch of fabric on her left shoulder. Perhaps she wears a similar mixture of Roman clothing and Menimane's ensemble as her contemporary, also from Selzen, on M18. The daughter (?) wears a girl *tunica* and *palla* in a similar fashion. It is likely that all three figures wear the same respective outfits as the family on M18.

Man: A204; Seated woman: B203 mode 2; Standing girl: B106, B203 mode 2

-

Klumbach 1936, 34-35 & pl. I.1.

MLM S 108

Espérandieu XIV 8523; *CSIR Deutschland* II,6 no. 4

M18 (plate XXVI)

Selzen

Mid 1st cent.

169x101x24

L

Fragment of a *stela* showing all but the very top of a niche relief portrait of a man, sitting front-on wearing a

tunica and a *pallium*. He has a small dog on his knee. To his left, a woman, standing, depicted half his size. She wears Menimane's disc pendant, bodice and overtunic with *fibulae* on the shoulders and a *palla* over the left shoulder and across the front. She holds a distaff and spindle. A third, even smaller, female figure to the man's right is presumably the daughter. She wears a *tunica* and *palla* over her left shoulder and a small disc pendant.

Man: A103, A204; Larger woman: B103, B104, B203 mode 1, B801; Smaller woman: B106, B203 mode 2, B801

-
Klumbach 1936, 33-34 & pl. I.4; Boppert 1991, 91ff.; Boppert 1992c, 103ff. For further literature see *CSIR*.
MLM S 135

Espérandieu XIV 8524; *CSIR Deutschland* II,6 no. 3

M19

Selzen

Mid 1st cent.

40x32

L

Fragment of a niche relief portrait of a woman seated front-on. Almost certainly part of a larger portrait scene with her husband seated to her left and possibly a child behind them. The fragment shows her right knee and her hands folded in her lap. She is wearing a mixture of Menimane's ensemble and Roman dress like the other women of her generation from Selzen (e.g. M18, possibly M17): Menimane's disc pendant, bodice and overtunic and a *palla* over the left shoulder and across the front.

B103, B104, B203 mode 1

Klumbach 1936, 35-36, fig. 3. For further literature see *CSIR*.

MLM S 1161

Espérandieu XIV 8527; *CSIR Deutschland* II,6 no. 5

M20 (plate XXVII)

Ingelheim

41-54

Man: 165; Woman: 160; Woman: 60

L

Fragments of three life-sized portrait statues from a large *stela* or grave pillar with some of the original paintwork.

1. Man wearing a *tunica* and imperial toga. The bottom part of his legs is missing.

2. Woman wearing Menimane's bodice, overtunic with *fibulae* and bonnet with a *palla* over the left shoulder and across the front. She wears a torque around her neck and is holding a purse.

3. Top part of a woman in the same dress as 2, but she also wears a scarf.

There are remains of the paint on parts of these stones: the undertunic of the intact female statue was light green, the overtunic red and the *palla*, scarf and bonnet grey-black. The toga was grey-green with a very thin grey-black line along the bottom (Schoppa 1960, 143). It is unclear whether these stones were originally erected at Ingelheim or moved from Mainz or Bingerbrück (Kutsch 270). They are assumed to have been made in a workshop at Mainz (Kutsch 275). Kutsch (270) believes the third female statue does not belong to the first two.

1: A103, A301,2

2: B103, B104, B203 mode 1, B701

3: B103, B104, B203 mode 1, B501, B701

-

Kutsch 1930, 270ff., pl. 25,B; Hahl 1937, 14; 16 pl. 3.1; Gerster 1938, 82 no. 3f.; Schoppa 1960, 143; 1963, 58 pl. 18; 1965, 7 no. 1-3, pl.1; Gabelmann 1972, no 39, fig. 30; 1979a, 238, fig. 21; Wild 1985, 38; pl. VI, 23; Hatt 1986, 147; Andrikopolou-Strack 1986, 36; 59; 74-77; 171-172; MG23-MG25, pl. 12.

Städtisches Museum Wiesbaden, Sammlung Nassauischer Altertümer 372-374

Espérandieu 1931, 36

M21 (plate XXVI)

Bingerbrück

Mid 1st cent.

193x111x32

-

Fragment of a *stela* showing a life-sized standing niche relief portrait of a woman and a man. From their shoulders up is broken away. The woman wears Menimane's bodice, overtunic with *fibulae* and a *palla* over the left shoulder and across the front. The man wears a *tunica* and imperial toga.

Woman: B103, B104, B203 mode 1; Man: A103, A301,2

IVLIA QVINTIA ANN(ORVM) XL TI(BERIVS) IVL(IVS) | SEVERVS ANN(ORVM) XXV H(IC) S(ITI) S(VNT) | TI(BERIVS) IVL(IVS) EVNVS CONIVGI (ET) FILIO POSVIT

The names are common Latin names apart from Eunus (*OPEL* II, 126), which is Greek (Dondin-Payre 241).

Kutsch 1930, 273-275; Klumbach 1936, 36f.; Gabelmann 1972, 137 no. 40; Bauchhenß 1975, 93; pl. 35.2; Andrikopolou-Strack 1986, 61; 74 note 312; Boppert 1992b, 23 note 107; Dondin-Payre 2001 241. For older literature see Espérandieu.

Karl Geib Museum, Bad Kreuznach

Espérandieu VIII 6138; *CIL* XIII 7520

M22 (plate XXVII)

Nickenich

Mid 1st cent.

Base: 290 wide, Main part reconstructed: 226 wide

-

Large monument with portrait statues in niches on the front and relief scenes on the sides.

1. Front: In separate niches two men and a woman holding the hand of a little boy (same niche). The man on the right hand side is broken off from the waist. He wears an imperial toga. The man on the left wears a *tunica* and *pallium*, as does the little boy (it has been suggested and subsequently dismissed that this is not a *pallium* but an older-style toga. See Bieber and Bauchhenß 92). The boy holds a scroll. The man on the left seems also to have been carrying a scroll, but it is broken away. The woman is wearing Menimane's bodice and overtunic. Over this, she wears a *palla* over her shoulders and thrown over her left forearm. Her hair is woven into plaits and tucked up at the nape of the neck, protruding from under a bonnet. Like Menimane, she wears a lot of jewellery: three rings on her left hand, two bangles and a torque.

2. Attis mourning.

3. A scene in two parts on top of each other depicting a man in an unidentifiable tunic and cloak thrown over his shoulder and wearing the same hairstyle as the men on the front of the stone (Bauchhenß sees this as a *tunica* and *paenula*/Gallic cape. It is not clear, but its depiction with the scooping folds across the thighs resembles the clothing on depictions of soldiers in the Rhine area). He holds a club in one hand and the end of a chain in the other. The other end of the chain is tied to the necks of two barbarians (signified by their long hair and cloaks held together by *fibulae*).

1: Man on right: A103, A301,2; Man on left: A103, A204; Boy: A103, A204; Woman: B103, B104, B203 mode 3, B701

3: ?

-

Neuffer 1932; Nesselhauf 1937, 92 no. 136; Koethe 1937, 206f.; Hahl 1937, 14 note 43; Gerster 1938, 75; 78; 81; Mariën 1945b, 101f.; 145; Hatt 1957b, 80; 90; 1971; Schoppa 1957, pl. 53; Petrikovits et al. 1963, 38ff. no. 4; 1965, 67ff. & pl. 29; Bauchhenß 1975, 91-94; 437; Wild 1985, 384f. & pl. VIII, 25; Hatt 1986, 154; Andrikopolou-Strack 1986, 42-43; 65; 82f.; 128f.; 179; pl. 3 & 4. For further literature see Andrikopolou-Strack 179.

RLB 31,86-87; 31,222-226

Espérandieu XI 7758; 7759

M23

Kruft

54-68

Approx. 6.5m (reconstruction Mylius 181ff.)

L

Fragments from a large grave pillar showing the middle sections of life-sized statue portraits of a man and a woman. The man wears a *tunica* and imperial toga. The woman wears a *tunica* and *palla* over the left shoulder and across the front.

Man: A103, A301,2; Woman: B106, B203 mode 1

-

Mylius 1925; Gabelmann 1977, 115 no. 19; 1979a, 238 note 88; 1979b, 24f.; Andrikopolou-Strack 1986, 20-23; 63; 162f. MG2; Goethert 2002, 23, fig. 19. For further literature see Andrikopolou-Strack 163.

RLB

-

M24

Koblenz

1st cent. (toga)

149x98x38

-

Fragment of a life-sized standing niche relief portrait of a man wearing an imperial toga.

A301,2

-

-

Mittelrheinmuseum Koblenz

Espérandieu VIII 6182

M25 (plate XXVIII)

Koblenz

1st cent.

180x118x32

-

Top part of a badly damaged *stela* showing two niche relief portrait scenes above and below the remains of an inscription.

Top: An arched niche with two men and a woman, all seated. The man on the left is turned sideways wearing a *tunica* and *pallium* and holding a scroll. The chair he sits on has elaborate legs and he rests his feet on a footstool. On the right, a woman wearing Menimane's bodice and overtunic with *fibulae*. Behind them, another man wearing a Gallic cape and a scarf.

Bottom: A gallery of five half-figures in a niche. They are females wearing the *tunica* and *palla* enveloping the body. The second, fourth and fifth wear a torque, the second and fifth a disc pendant.

Top: Man on left: A103, A204; Man in middle: A201, A501; Woman: B103, B104

Bottom: B106, B203 mode 7 (x5), B801 (x2)

VEGEIVS [. . .] DR [- - -] II VIVVS [- - -] [- - -] MATFI
MATER [- - -] M [- - -] IVLIS AVI [- - -] ON [- - -]

CIL cites various readings.

Vegeius/Vegelus is otherwise unattested (*OPEL* IV, 151).

Krüger 1938; Bauchhenß 1975, 88-91; Boppert 1992b, 27f. & fig. 6.

Mittelrheinmuseum Koblenz

CIL XIII 7627; Espérandieu VII 5770; VIII 6184

M26

Koblenz

Circa 60-80

90x77x65

Whole monument approx. 2.20m high (reconstruction Andrikopolou-Strack 44)

L

Block fragment from a badly damaged *stela* showing the top part of an almost life-sized standing niche relief portrait of a man wearing a Gallic cape on the front (Attis on the side).

A201

-

Lehner 1918, 297 no. 733; 1924, 146; Bauchhenß 1975, 92; Andrikopolou-Strack 1986, 44; 180 & pl. 10 & 26.

RLB D12; Landesmuseum Koblenz, Festung Ehrenbreitstein

Espérandieu VIII 6200

M27

Koblenz

-

38x50x21

L

Thigh fragment from a larger than life-sized relief portrait of a man wearing a toga.

A301

-

Schmidt 1865, 1; pl. IV,II; Lehner 1918, 298 no. 734; Willer 2005, no. 101.

RLB D27a

-

M28

Koblenz

2nd/3rd cent.

34x26x20

L

Shoulder fragment from a larger than life-sized portrait of a man wearing a toga. This may belong to the same statue as M27.

A301

-

Schmidt 1865, 10; pl. IV,II; Lehner 1918, 298 no. 735; Willer 2005, no. 100.

RLB D27b

-

M29

Koblenz

Late 2nd cent.

19x17x9

L

Fragment from a relief portrait showing the head and part of the chest of a man wearing a Gallic tunic.

A101

-

Schmidt 1865, 7A; pl. III,A; Lehner 1918, 298f. no. 738; Willer 2005, no. 95.

RLB D8

-

M30

Andernach

2nd/3rd cent.

202x61x24

Tuff

Badly damaged whole *stela* of poor artistic quality showing a standing niche relief portrait of a man wearing a Gallic tunic and holding a bird in his hand.

A101

DIS MANI(IVS) | F[.]V [- - -] TTIE | NVS [- - -] L [. .] I | CA [- - -] OII[.]I | VALENTINIA

Valentinus and Valentinia are common Latin names (*OPEL* IV, 140f.).

Lehner 1918, 309 no. 773; 1924, 148.

RLB 7600

CIL XIII 7686; Espérandieu VIII 6210

M31

Bad Kreuznach

2nd cent.

24x44x21

S

Shoulder fragment from a niche relief portrait of a man in a *tunica* and imperial toga. Boppert (*CSIR*) believes the fabric around the shoulders suggests the man had the toga over his head. All the fabric shows, however, is that the toga was wrapped around both shoulders.

A103, A301,2

-

Willer 2005, no. 13. For further literature see *CSIR*.and Willer 2005.

Römerhalle, Bad Kreuznach V-183-62 and 48

CSIR Deutschland II,9 no. 93

M32

Bad Kreuznach

Circa 200

52x75x42

S

Fragment of an almost life-sized niche relief portrait showing the torso and arms of a man wearing a Gallic tunic and cape. Boppert (*CSIR*) believes a fold on the right arm is the strap of a bag and that this is part of a scene from everyday life. It seems more likely given the size of the figure that it is a portrait and that the fold on the right shoulder is the Gallic cape pulled up, as it often is, to allow arm movement.

A101, A201

-

Willer 2005, no. 14. For further literature see *CSIR*.and Willer 2005.

Römerhalle, Bad Kreuznach V-133-95; 49

CSIR Deutschland II,9 no. 94

Scenes from Everyday Life:

M33

Mainz

2nd/3rd cent.

38x72x31

S

Block fragment showing a meal scene from a large monument. Three men with beards recline behind a long table. They are holding *mappae* and wearing Gallic tunics. A servant approaches from the left with a jug in one hand and a cup in the other. He wears a girt Gallic tunic.

A101 (x4)

Selzer 1988, 41, fig. 24 & cat. no. 206; Willer 2005, no. 185 with further literature.

MLM S 656

Espérandieu VII 5839

M34

Mainz

2nd/3rd cent.

50x58x58

S

Block fragment from a large monument showing a relief scene with the middle part of a man in a *tunica* holding the reins of a horse.

A103

Selzer 1988, cat. no. 253; Willer 2005, no. 180.

MLM S 1084

-

M35

Mainz

Late 2nd/early 3rd cent.

49x93x17

S

Block fragment showing a relief scene of a fisherman and a shepherd either side of a Jupiter column. The fisherman's tunic is unidentifiable but he seems to be wearing

a *pallium* or other draped cloak over his left shoulder. The shepherd wears a girt Gallic tunic.
Shepherd: A101; Fisherman: A204(?)
Selzer 1988, 41, fig. 25 & cat. no. 196.
MLM S 510
-

M36 (plate XXIX)

Mainz

Late 2nd/early 3rd cent.

A: 46x67x22

B: 52x102x74

C: 45x78x30

S

Three block fragments from a large monument showing relief scenes.

A. Three men in girt Gallic tunics loading barrels up a ramp onto a ship.

B. Two men in girt Gallic tunics threshing grain and carrying large baskets.

C. Four men in girt Gallic tunics carrying sacks onto a dock.

These fragments were found in the city wall along with a fragment of an inscription (MLM S 1099):

DIS MAN(IBVS) | [- - -] OMARTI | [- - -] (NEGOTI)ATORII
N | [- - -] IVNIA

A: A101 (x3)

B: A101 (x2)

C: A101 (x4)

Koepp 1924, 53 & pl. XXXIX, 3-5; Behrens 1949/1950, 53 no. 1 and fig. 7; Selzer 1988, 35, fig. 18 & cat. nos 208, 239, 252, 287; Boppert 1994, 414-417 with notes 111-117; Willer 2005, no. 187-190 with further literature.

MLM S 662, S 1082, S 1053, S 1099

CIL XIII 7068; Espérandieu VII 5833

M37 (plate XXV)

Mainz

Late 2nd/early 3rd cent.

60x93x19

S

Block fragment showing a niche relief meal scene from a large monument. Three men wearing Gallic tunics recline behind a table. The two outer ones are also wearing a *pallium* over their left shoulders. At either end of the table sit two women in high-backed armchairs wearing large, enveloping cloaks. The one on the left has another, smaller cloak draped around her shoulders like a large scarf, similar to Treveran ladies in this period.

Men: A101 (x3), A204 (x2)

Women: ?, B202 mode 4

Schoppa 1963, 21f. & pl. 23; Selzer 1988, 56, fig. 38 & cat. no. 256; Willer 2005, no. 175.

MLM S 1107

Espérandieu X 7392

M38

Mainz

-

59x35x40

S

Fragment of a niche relief scene depicting a boy in a girt

Gallic tunic. Probably a servant from a meal scene.

A101

Willer 2005, no. 184 with further literature.

MLM S 1206

Espérandieu X 7382

M39

Mainz

-

65x35x43

S

Fragment of a relief scene showing the bottom part of a man sitting wearing a Gallic tunic on a stool.

A101

-

MLM S 317

Espérandieu X 7396

M40 (plate XXVII)

Koblenz

Early 3rd cent.

59x110x52

L

Fragment of a niche relief scene depicting a man on horseback. He wears a tunic and a loose cloak which is flowing behind him. The cloak has a straight seam and is fastened on the shoulder with a brooch, so it is a *sagum*.

A205

Lehner 1918, 299 no. 741; 1924, 146; Willer 2005, no. 97 with further literature.

RLB D3

Espérandieu VIII 6197

M41

Bad Kreuznach

Late 2nd/early 3rd cent.

23x41x37

S

Small, fragment from the left-hand side of a niche relief scene showing the right arm and torso of a figure wearing a Gallic tunic and holding a piece of cloth. Probably a cloth inspection scene (cf. T62).

A101

Willer 2005, no. 8. For further literature see *CSIR* & Willer 2005.

Römerhalle, Bad Kreuznach V-133-97; 63

CSIR Deutschland II,9 no. 90

M42

Bad Kreuznach

Early 3rd cent.

52x37x18

S

Fragment from the left-hand side of a relief scene showing the bottom two thirds of a woman standing and facing to the right wearing a Gallic tunic. Probably a servant dressing a lady's hair.

B101

Willer 2005, no. 10. For further literature see *CSIR*.

Römerhalle, Bad Kreuznach 32

Espérandieu VIII 6152; *CSIR Deutschland* II,9 no. 96

Ubian Area:

Portrait Stones:

U1 (plate XXX)

Cologne

Early 1st cent. (Schoppa). Alföldy dates the stone to 89-104 on the basis of a reading of the legion as X but the identification of the legion is unclear. The early toga and lack of *cognomen* means one must decide for the earlier date.

167x85x30

L

Almost intact *stela* (bottom of inscription missing) showing two galleries of half-figure relief portraits on top of each other above the inscription.

1. Upper gallery: The veteran wears a *tunica* and *toga exigua* and holding a scroll. On the left, his wife wearing a *tunica* and *palla* over the left shoulder and across the front and holding something spherical. Between them, a young man wearing a *tunica*.

2. Two young women and one young man, presumably the children. The women wear the same dress as their mother, the man wears the same dress as the father.

1: Woman: B106; B203 mode 1; Younger man: A103; Older man: A103, A301,1

2: Women: B106 (x2); B203 mode 1 (x2); Man: A103, A301,1

L(VCIVS) BAEBIVS L(VCII) F(ILIVS) GAL(ERIA TRIBV) | VELEIAS VET(ERANVS) LEG(IONIS) X[X] | [- - -]E SABINVS BAEBIAE SEXT[- - -] | [- - - E]T VIVIS BAEBIAE | [- - -] CONIVGI [- - -] | [- - -]RM[. .]BAEBIAN[. . .]MNI [- - -]
Lucius and Sabinus (*OPEL* IV, 41) are common Latin names. Baebius is also a common Latin name, but it was particularly prevalent in Hispania and very uncommon in Belgica and the Germanies (*OPEL* I, 108).

Klinkenberg 1902, 82 no. 5 & pl. I; 1906, 325; Lehner 1918, 241 no. 624; Alföldy 1965; Schoppa 1966, 4 & fig. 1.

RLB 3124

CIL XIII 8286; Espérandieu VIII 6450; Galsterer/Galsterer no. 223 & pl. 48

U2 (plate XXX)

Cologne

Circa 20

196x45x25

L

Intact *stela* showing a half-figure niche relief portrait of a woman cradling a baby inside her cloak. She wears a loose, straight-necked tunic, a large cloak with a zig-zag pattern border and a tight cap on her head. Bella is a member of the Remi tribe, which may explain her unusual dress, for which there is, as yet, no direct parallel. The baby in the portrait may indicate that she died during childbirth (Gabelmann). This is one of very few monuments that have been found with their intact graves: Bella's skeleton reveals her to have been approx. 160cm tall and in her early twenties. The grave goods consisted of a small ceramic jug and two glass ampoules (Gabelmann). The skull also reveals the portrait to have been

relatively faithful, as the form of the head is similar (Doppelfeld).

-

BELLAE VON | VCI F(ILIAE) REMAE | LONGINVS | VIR IL-LAEIVS | FECIT PIE

Vonucus (*OPEL* IV, 184) is Celtic (Raepsaet-Charlier 422). Bella is Celtic (Weisgerber 174). Longinus is a common Latin name (*OPEL* III, 31).

Weisgerber 1968, 174; Gabelmann 1972, 133 no. 15; La Baume 1973, 341 & pl. 8; Doppelfeld/Biegel/Bracker 1975, 746f. no. 11; Raepsaet-Charlier 2001b, 422. For further literature see Galsterer/Galsterer.

RGM 62,274

Galsterer/Galsterer no. 310 & pl. 67

U3 (plate XXX)

Cologne

20-30

147x76x25

L

Intact *stela* with bust niche relief portrait of a man wearing a *tunica* and *toga exigua*.

A103, A301,1

C(AIVS) AIACIVS P(VBLII) F (ILIVS) | STEL(LATINA TRIBV) MANGO | HIC SITVS EST | VALE AIACI

Aiac(i)us is very uncommon (attested twice in Italy, twice in Belgica: *OPEL* I, 36). It may be Latin or Greek (Weisgerber 114; 117; 132). Mango could either be a cognomen (Riese) or his occupation (*CIL*, Schlippschuh). In any case, he is a Roman citizen who has migrated to Cologne from northern Italy.

Klinkenberg 1902, 85 no. 15 & pl. 1,3; 1906, 325; Fremersdorf 1950, II pl. 60; Weisgerber 1968, 114; 117; 132; 215; Doppelfeld 1970, fig. 85; Gabelmann 1972, 134 no. 18; Schlippschuh 1974, 67.

RGM 37,18

CIL XIII 8348; Espérandieu VIII 6510; Galsterer/Galsterer no. 321 & pl. 70; Riese 1914, 3631

U4 (plate XXXII)

Cologne

40-49

44x87x52

L

Fragment from the top, right-hand corner of a niche relief portrait of a man wearing a *tunica* and *toga exigua*.

A103, A301,1

-

Andrikopolou-Strack 1986, 57-60; 139-140 & U7 pl. 8 & 34.

RGM

-

U5 (plate XXXI)

Cologne

0-42

Whole monument over 15m high (Precht 27ff.; Andrikopolou-Strack 13)

L

Many fragments of a large grave pillar reconstructed in a separate hall of the museum at Cologne. The *aedicula* is in the form of a colonnaded gallery. Between the pillars

of this gallery stand three life-sized portrait statues. A further, smaller female figure may have stood on the side of the gallery.

1. Almost intact male figure wearing a *tunica* and imperial toga and holding a scroll. Next to his leg, a *scrinium*.
2. Middle fragment of a male figure wearing a *tunica* and imperial toga and, before this piece was lost in the 2nd World War, holding a scroll.
3. Bottom section of a woman wearing a *tunica* and *palla* over the left shoulder and across the front.
4. Almost intact but smaller statue of a woman wearing a *tunica* and *palla* over the left shoulder and across the front.

One of the male figures is Publicius, the other almost certainly his son (see Andrikopolou-Strack 56 with further literature). The female figures may represent the wife and daughter, or daughter and *liberta*.

1: A103, A301,2

2: A103, A301,2

3: B106, B203 mode 1

4: B106, B203 mode 1 (Andrikopolou-Strack 80 and Gabelmann 1979a, 234ff. wrongly see this as a *toga praetexta*)

L(VCIO) POBLICIO L(VCI) F(ILIO) TERE(TINA TRIBV) | VETERA(NO) LEG(IONIS) V ALAVDA(RVM) EX TESTAMENTO | ET P(A)VLLAE F(ILIAE) ET VIVIS [- - -] O MODESTO L(VCIO) P[- - -] | [H(OC)] M(ONVMENTVM) H(EREDEM) [N(ON) S(EQVETVR)]

Publicius is a Latin name common in Italy, but uncommon elsewhere (*OPEL* III, 147). Paulla is a common Latin name (*OPEL* III, 129f.). Modestus is a common Latin name but particularly prevalent among slaves and *liberti* (Kajanto 1965, 68f.).

Kajanto 1965, 68f.; Gabelmann 1972, 106f.; 1977, 108; 114 no. 12; Precht 1975; Andrikopolou-Strack 1986, 9-24; 80f. & 162 MG1. For further literature see Galsterer/Galsterer and Andrikopolou-Strack 162.

RGM

Galsterer/Galsterer no. 216 & pl. 47

U6 (plate XXXII)

Cologne

Mid 1st cent.

31

L

Head of a less than life-sized statue of a woman wearing a Ubian bonnet with a pin over the left ear. Espérandieu and Nerzic refer to it as a depiction of a Matron deity. It is, however, likely that it is a portrait, considering the wider use of Ubian dress and the fact that it was found in the Roman graveyard on Luxemburger Strasse in Cologne (Fremersdorf). Andrikopolou-Strack 173 also refers to it as a portrait.

B702

-

Klinkenberg 1906, 303; Fremersdorf 1950, II, pl. 70; 1956, 10; Nerzic 1989, 206f.; Andrikopolou-Strack 1986, 36; 78f.; 173 MG28, pl. 19.

RGM 483

Espérandieu VIII 6395

U7 (plate XXXIII)

Cologne

50-89

210x76x36

L

Intact *stela* with a standing niche relief portrait of a man above the inscription. He holds a bunch of grapes and a little dog and wears military clothing: a girt, short-sleeved *tunica* and a *sagum* pinned on his right shoulder. Doppelfeld suggests he was a freedman of Cl. Iustus, but was still employed in his house

A103, A205

TI(BERIO) CLAVDIO | HALOTO VIXIT | ANNIS XVIII | CLAVDIVS IVSTVS | PATR(ONVS) PRAEF(ECTVS) COH(ORTIS) III DALMAT(ORVM)

Tiberius, Iustus and Claudius are common Latin names. Halotus is otherwise unattested (*OPEL* II, 173) it is of uncertain origin (Weisgerber 364) but is perhaps eastern. It is, at any rate, not Celtic (367).

Klinkenberg 1902, 93 no. 21; 1906, 288; 291; Doppelfeld 1967, 177 no. A138; Weisgerber 1968, 364; 367.

RGM 95

CIL XIII 8271; Espérandieu VIII 6440

U8

Cologne

1st cent.

86x40x17

L

Damaged but intact *stela* with a niche bust relief portrait of a woman wearing a *tunica* that sags in many folds below the neck and a *palla* around her shoulders.

B106, B203 mode 7

VSIA PRIMA | PIERIS AN(NNORVM) VX | [C]O[N]IVGI ET FRAT(RI) | SVO FEC(ERVNT) L(IBERTI)

Prima is a common Latin name (*OPEL* III, 161). Pieris is a less common (*OPEL* III, 141) Greek name (Weisgerber 134).

Klinkenberg, 1906, 329f.; Weisgerber 1968, 134.

RGM 74,463

CIL XIII 12064; Espérandieu VIII 6497; Galsterer/Galsterer no. 426 & pl. 93

U9 (plate XXXIII)

Cologne

Late 1st cent. (Doppelfeld) early 2nd cent. (Galsterer/Galsterer)

140x60x13

L

Intact *stela* with a niche relief meal scene showing a man reclining behind a table laden with fruit. He wears a Gallic tunic and a toga. At his feet, somewhat smaller, sits his wife in a high-backed armchair. She wears a long tunic and a large cloak around her shoulders with a bowl of fruit in her lap. The fact that this depiction corresponds exactly with depictions of the Matron deities points to this being Ubian dress, albeit without the bonnet. The characteristic clasp would be concealed by her arm. Behind her chair, a female servant, wearing a girt Gallic tunic. To the right, in front of Maternus, a male servant wearing a Gallic tunic and a cloak over his shoulder.

The gravestone of Liberalinius and family (U33) is on the back of this stone.

Man: A101, A301,2; Woman: B105, B201; Female servant: B101; Male Servant: A101, ?

D(IIS) M(ANIBVS) C(AIVS) IVL(IVS) MATERNVS | VET(ERANVS) EX LEG(IONE) I M(INERVIA) VIV(V)S SIBI | ET MARI(A)E MARCELLINAE | CO[N]HVGI DVLCISSIM(A)E | CASTISSIMAE OBITAE F(ECIT)

Iulius is a common Latin name. Maternus is a common Latin name but particularly prevalent in Celtic areas (Kajanto 1965, 18, 80). Maria (*OPEL* III, 59) and Marcellina (*OPEL* III, 53f.) are common Latin names.

Klinkenberg 1902, 96 no. 41; 1906, 271; 278; Doppelfeld 1967, 177 no. A141; pl. 47.

RGM 11

CIL XIII 8267a; Espérandieu VIII 6449; Galsterer/Galsterer 196a

U10 (plate XXXIII)

Cologne

50-100 (Doppelfeld), early 2nd cent. (Nerzic)

191x97x23

L

Intact *stela* with a niche relief meal scene showing a man in a *tunica* and toga reclining behind a three-legged table laden with bowls of various sizes. To the left, his wife sits on a high-backed chair, wearing a foot-length tunic and a cloak around her shoulders, with a bowl of fruit in her lap. The fact that this depiction corresponds exactly with depictions of the Matron deities points to this being Ubian dress, albeit without the bonnet. The characteristic clasp would be concealed by her arm. To the right, a servant, portrayed much smaller than the couple, in a *tunica*.

Man: A103, A301,2; Woman: B105, B201; Servant: A103

M(ARCVS) VAL(ERIVS) CELERINVS | PAPIRIA (TRIBV) ASTIGI | CIVIS AGRIPPINE(NSIS) | VETER(ANVS) LEG(IONIS) X G(EMINAE) P(IAE) F(IDELIS) | VIVOS FECIT SIBI | ET MARCIAE PRO | CVLAE VXORI

Astigi was a town in Hispania Baetica.

Valerius is a very common Latin name. Celerinus (*OPEL* II, 47f.), Marcia (*OPEL* III, 55) and Procula (*OPEL* III, 166f.) are fairly common Latin names.

Klinkenberg 1906, 294; Fremersdorf 1950, II pl. 49; Doppelfeld 1967, 177 no. A 140 & pl. 46; Nerzic 1989, 121.

RGM 86

CIL XIII 8283; Espérandieu VIII 6457; Galsterer/Galsterer no. 219 & pl. 47

U11

Cologne

Mid 2nd cent.

60x104x79

L

Block fragment showing part of a meal scene on the front and scenes from everyday life on the sides. Probably from a grave pillar. One of very few stones from the Rhine that shows scenes from everyday life.

1. The remains of a meal scene depicting a man reclining behind a table wearing a *tunica* and toga with a servant at his feet (clothing unidentifiable).

2. Two men seated, wearing Gallic tunics. Between them

an unusual circular apparatus which has not yet been identified. Above that, what looks like legs of ham hanging from the ceiling.

3. Part of a scene of a wagon pulled by two horses.

The choice of meal scene for the portrait suggests the man may have been a veteran that went into business after his time in the army.

1. A103, A301

2: A101 (x2)

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Noelke 1998, 402; 406 and note 15; Willer 2005, no. 134 with further literature.

RGM 80,1210

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U12 (plate XXXII)

Cologne

Mid-late 2nd cent.

160x220x70

S

Intact sarcophagus. On the lid, niche bust portraits of (from left to right) one, two and one persons respectively.

1. On the left hand side of the lid, a niche bust portrait of a woman wearing a *palla* draped over her head.

2. In the centre, a niche bust portrait of a couple. The woman wears a Ubian bonnet, disc pendant around her neck and Ubian cloak. Her husband wears a tunic (?) and a Gallic cape.

3. On the right hand side of the lid, a niche bust portrait of a man wearing a toga. His head is decorated with flowers (stylised garland?).

1: B203 mode 5

2: Woman: B201, B702; Man: A201

3: A301,3

D(IIS) M(ANIBVS) | TRAIANIAE HERODIANAE | CONIVGI INCOMPARABLI | AVR(ELIVS) TVRIVS SENECA | BENE DE SE MERITAE

Traiania (*OPEL* IV, 128) and Herodiana (*OPEL* II, 180) are unusual Latin names. The origins of Turius are uncertain (Weisgerber 116; 140; 163; 185; 201; 213; 240). Seneca is Celtic (Alföldy 341, Weisgerber 185).

Klinkenberg 1902, 148 no. 121a; 1906, 307f.; Weisgerber 1968, 116; 140; 163; 185; 201; 213; 240; Alföldy 1969, 341. For further literature see Galsterer/Galsterer.

RGM 31, 251

CIL XIII 8426; Espérandieu VIII 6488; Galsterer/Galsterer no. 364 & pl. 81

U13 (plate XXXIII)

Cologne

2nd half of 2nd cent.

140x72x13

L

Intact *stela* showing a standing niche relief portrait of a young woman wearing a *tunica* and *palla* around her shoulders and left arm and holding a jewellery box.

B106, B203 mode 3

D(IIS) M(ANIBVS) | PACATIAE FLOR | ENTIAE VRBANIA | LELLVA MATER FIL(IAE) | F(ACIENDVM) C(VRAVIT)

Pacatia Florentia is a Latin name (*OPEL* II, 148; III, 119). Urbania seems to be a Gallic version of the com-

mon Latin name Urbana/us (*OPEL* IV, 185). Lellua is Germanic (Weisgerber 151, 161).

Klinkenberg, 1902, 123, no. 56; pl. 3,2; 1906, 291; Lehner, 1918, 336f. no. 849; 1924, 150; Weisgerber 1968, 151; 161; Wild 1985, 406.

RLB 5185

CIL XIII 8411; Espérandieu VIII 6453; Galsterer/Galsterer no. 388 & pl. 86

U14 (plate XXXIV)

Cologne

117-200

47x38x11.5

L

Fragment of a *stela* showing a medallion bust relief portrait of a man wearing a Gallic tunic and cape above the remains of an inscription. The folds of fabric on the man's left shoulder may be his cape rolled up or another cloak.

A101, A201, (?)

D(IIS) [M(ANIBVS)] | [CL]AVDIO SAT[VRNINO] | [VE]T(ERANO) LEG(IONIS) I PR[IMINIVS - - -]

Claudius Saturninus is a common Latin name (*OPEL* IV, 51f.).

Klinkenberg 1902, no. 55; 1906, 282; Binsfeld 1960, 165 no. 1 & pl. 28,2.

RGM 158

CIL XIII 8280; Galsterer/Galsterer no. 213 & pl. 46

U15 (plate XXXIV)

Cologne

2nd cent. (Klinkenberg 1902, 104); 2nd/3rd cent. (Galsterer/Galsterer)

67x96x55

L

Intact *stela* showing a niche bust relief portrait of a man wearing a Gallic tunic and a curious cloak with thick ribbed edges hanging over both shoulders. The cloak seems to have a zigzag pattern.

A101, ?

G(AIO) MESSVLENO G(AII) L(IBERTO) | IVVENI [- - -]

Messulenus is otherwise unattested (cf. Messulus once in Narbonensis: *OPEL* III, 79) and of uncertain origin (Weisgerber 200), as is Iuvenis (Weisgerber 309; 317; 320; 328) although Raepsaet-Charlier defines it simply as Latin (388).

Klinkenberg 1902, 104 no. 47; 1906, 238 no. 1; Weisgerber 1968, 200; 309; 317; 320; 328; Raepsaet-Charlier 2001a, 388.

RGM 12

CIL XIII 8407; Espérandieu VIII 6470; Galsterer/Galsterer no. 414 & pl. 90

U16 (plate XXXIV)

Cologne

2nd cent.

50x30x12

L

Small *ara* with a niche bust relief portrait of a man wearing a Gallic cape above a badly damaged inscription.

A201

D(IIS) M(ANIBVS) | GER(MANIO) VICTO | RI DOCT(ORI)

GL(ADIATORVM) | [....] PATER | [...] LV [...] COIVVX

The name Germanus is Celtic/Germanic (Raepsaet-Charlier 388) and quite rare (*OPEL* II, 166). Victor is a common Latin name (*OPEL* IV, 167f.).

Binsfeld 1960, 164 pl. 27.3-4; *AE* 1962, 108; Raepsaet-Charlier 2001a, 388.

RGM 58,602

Galsterer/Galsterer no. 317 & pl. 69

U17 (plate XXXIV)

Cologne

Late 2nd/early 3rd cent. (hairstyle)

101x59x10

L

Fragment of a *stela* showing the right-hand section of a niche relief meal scene. Only the right hand figure can be seen. It is a woman sitting on a high-backed chair and wearing a *tunica*, *palla* around her shoulders and her hair in a low bun. In front of the table, barely visible, the feet of a servant.

B106, B203 mode 3

D(IIS) M(ANIBVS) | LIBER(A)E LIBERALIS | FIL(IAE) PIENISSIM(A)E | OBIT(A)E PATER | FECIT

The names are Latin (*OPEL* III, 25).

Klinkenberg 1902, 97 no. 42 & pl. 1.9; 1906, 293f.; Lehner 1918, 343 no. 867.

RLB 9291

CIL XIII 8402; Espérandieu VIII 6489; Galsterer/Galsterer no. 418 & pl. 91

U18

Cologne

Late 2nd/early 3rd cent.

35.5x46.5x14

L

Intact but damaged *stela* showing a bust medallion relief portrait of a woman wearing a *tunica* and *palla* over her left shoulder.

B106, B203 mode 1

PATERNIAE | PROB(AE) FILIAE | PATER[N]IANVS | [- - -]

Paternia and Paternianus are Gallic versions of the Latin name Paternus (*OPEL* III, 127). Proba is a relatively common Latin name (*OPEL* III, 164).

Klinkenberg 1906, 332.

RGM 204

CIL XIII 8412; Galsterer/Galsterer no. 424 & pl. 92

U19 (plate XXXV)

Cologne

Late 2nd/early 3rd cent.

97x58.5x27

L

Intact *ara* with a medallion bust relief portrait of woman wearing a *tunica*, *stola* and *palla* around her shoulders. Her hair is parted in the middle and brought loosely over her ears to the back of her neck (late Antonine-early Severan).

B106, B107, B203 mode 3 or mode 7

D(IIS) M(ANIBVS) | MASCLINIAE AQVINA | CO(N)IIVGI PIENISSIM(A)E | M(ARCVS) VARENIVS HERMES | NVMMVLARIVS

Masclinia is Celtic (Weisgerber 1935, 315). Aquina is

Latin (Weisgerber 1968, 114; *OPEL* I, 71). Varenius may be Latin (Weisgerber 1968, 116, 213; *OPEL* IV, 147). Hermes comes from the Greek and was common as a cognomen throughout the empire (*OPEL* II, 179) but was especially common among slaves/*liberti* (Kajanto 57). *AE* 1927, 67; Weisgerber 1935, 315; 1968, 114; 116; 213; Binsfeld 1960, 165, no. 6; Kajanto 1965, 57; Noelke 1996a, no. 7 pl. 23.2 & 4. For further literature see Galsterer/Galsterer.
RGM Ni 8433
Espérandieu X 7425; Galsterer/Galsterer no. 330 & pl. 72

U20 (plate XXXIV)

Cologne
Late 2nd/early 3rd cent.
59x47x9.5

L

Lower fragment of a *stela* showing the bottom part of a niche bust relief portrait of a man wearing a Gallic cape above the inscription.

A201

Q(VINTO) VETINIO VER[O] | MATER QVINTINIA | MATERNA FILIO DVL | CISSIMO EX COL(LEGIO) FA(BRVM) TI(GNARIORVM) | CEN(TVRIA) III ANN(ORVM) XXXI | M(ENSIVM) VII D(IERVM) XXVI FE(CIT)

Vetinius (*OPEL* IV, 162f.) is an unusual name and of uncertain origin, although it may be Roman (Weisgerber 116). Verus is a very common Latin name (*OPEL* IV, 160f.). Quintinia is a northern Gallic version of Quintinus/a (*OPEL* IV, 19). Materna is a common Latin name (*OPEL* III, 65) especially in Celtic areas (Kajanto 18; 80).

Klinkenberg 1906, 304; Kajanto 1965, 18; 80; Weisgerber 1968, 116. For further literature see Galsterer/Galsterer.

RGM 461

CIL XIII 8344; Galsterer/Galsterer no. 314 & pl. 69

U21

Cologne
Late 2nd/early 3rd cent.

-

L

Top part of a *stela* showing a niche bust relief portrait of a man wearing a Gallic cape.

A201

-

Klinkenberg 1902, 132; Binsfeld 1960, 165 no. 14 & pl. 28.3.

RGM 196

-

U22 (plate XXXV)

Cologne
Late 2nd/early 3rd cent.
90x59x18.5

L

Intact *stela* with three badly damaged medallion bust portraits of men. The two on the left have stylised V-shaped cuts to signify clothing, indicating that they are wearing Gallic capes. The clothing of the third is too eroded to identify.

A201 (x2)

D(IIS) M(ANIBVS) | SVPERINIO RVSTICO | ET SVPERINIAE SVPE | RBAE INGENVINIA | IVNIA MATER FILIIS DVL | CISSIMIS ΘΘ (OBITIS) ET SIBI | VIVA F(ACIENDVM) C(VRAVIT)

Superinius/ia are only attested in the continental NW, almost entirely in Belgica and the Germanies (*OPEL* IV, 100). Perhaps a Gallic version of Super or Latinised Ubius (Weisgerber). Rusticus is a relatively common Latin cognomen (*OPEL* IV, 37). Ingenuinia seems to be a Gallic version of Ingenuinus/a (*OPEL* II, 193). Iunia is a common Latin name especially popular in Hispania (*OPEL* II, 208).

Klinkenberg 1902, 125 no. 68; Binsfeld 1960, 165 no. 7 & pl. 29.1; Weisgerber 1962, 113. For further literature see Galsterer/Galsterer.

RGM 89

CIL XIII 8424; Espérandieu VIII 6486; Galsterer/Galsterer no. 404 & pl. 88

U23 (plate XXXV)

Cologne
Late 2nd/early 3rd cent.
35x31

L

Top part of a *stela* showing a standing niche relief portrait of a man or boy. He has short but shaggy hair and wears a Gallic cape with no hood (?). He is holding a round object, possibly an apple.

A201

-

Klinkenberg 1902, 131; Binsfeld 1960, 166 no. 31 & pl. 30.2.

RGM 397

-

U24 (plate XXXIV)

Cologne
Late 2nd/early 3rd cent. (Galsterer/Galsterer) circa 230s (Noelke - hairstyle)
145x94x35.5

L

Intact but damaged *ara* with a medallion bust relief portrait of a woman wearing a *tunica* and *palla* over her left shoulder. Her hair is wavy and brought to the back of the head behind her ears (late Severan).

B106, B203 mode 1 or 2

B(!) M(ANIBVS) | AVREL(IAE) GAIAN(AE) | DOMO SIDON(E) | AEL(IVS) PAVLVVS C | (L) EGI I M CONIVG(I) | CARISSIM(A)E
Small inscription below portrait in Greek: ΕΥΦΥΧΙ ΟΥΔΕΙC ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟC

Aurelia is from Sidon. Noelke suggests they met when Aelius' legion was in the east (Noelke 93).

The names are Latin (Kajanto 28; 41; 172).

Kajanto 1965, 28; 41; 172; Päffgen 1992, 1, 105; 3, 653, fig. 302; Noelke 1996a, 93 & no. 10 (pl. 24.1). For further literature see Galsterer/Galsterer.

RGM 66,103

Galsterer/Galsterer no. 208 & pl. 45

U25 (plate XXXV)

Cologne
Late 2nd/early 3rd cent. (Galsterer/Galsterer)

240-250 (Noelke 94)
73x44.5x16.5

L

Almost intact but at the bottom severely damaged *ara* with two medallion bust relief portraits of a woman and a man. The woman wears a *tunica* and *palla* over her left shoulder and unusual, large earrings. Her hair is parted in the middle and brought to a bun at the nape of the neck. She seems to have a plait across the top of her head like the Empress Tranquillina (241-244) which dates the stone (Noelke 94). The man wears a *tunica* and toga.

Woman: B106, B203 mode 1 or 2; Man: A103, A301

D(IIS) M(ANIBVS) | ET PERPETVAE SECV | RITATE IVLIAE
Q(VINTI FILIAE) LV | PVLAE ET C(AIO) RVTI | LIO PRIMO
FILIO EI | IVSDEM SCOLAS | [TI]CO SANCT[O PRO | [ME]RITIS
C[- - -]

Lupula is a diminutive form of the Latin Lupus popular in Gaul (*OPEL* III, 38f.). Rutilius is a relatively unusual Latin name (*OPEL* IV, 38). Primus is a very common Latin cognomen (*OPEL* III, 161). Late translation of *scolasticus* (Galsterer/Galsterer): Rutilius is a solicitor or barrister.

Klinkenberg, 1902, 125 no. 63; 1906, 315-317; Lehner 1918, 351f. no. 893; 1924, 151; Binsfeld 1960, 165; no. 4 & pl. 28.1; Noelke 1996a, 94 & no. 12.

RLB 3322

CIL XIII 8356; Espérandieu VIII 6499;
Galsterer/Galsterer no. 332 & pl. 72

U26

Cologne
2nd/3rd cent.
45x48x9

L

Fragment of a *stela* showing three medallion bust relief portraits (the outer two are cut in half). Only the clothing of the middle figure can be identified. It is a woman in a *tunica* and *palla* around her shoulders.

B106, B203 mode 3 or mode 7

[D(IIS)] M(ANIBVS) | [- - -] RI [VET]ERANO | [- - -] ET | [- -
- FIL]IO IN | [COMPARABILI ?] MILI | [TAVIT ? - - -]

Klinkenberg 1906, 324.

RGM 27

CIL XIII 8302; Galsterer/Galsterer no. 285 & pl. 62

U27

Cologne
Early 3rd cent. (hairstyle)

-

-

Top part of a *stela* showing a medallion bust relief portrait of a woman wearing a *tunica* and a *palla* around her shoulders. Her hair is worn in a low bun.

B106, B203 mode 3

-

Binsfeld 1960, 165 no. 10 & pl. 29.4.

RGM 200

-

U28 (plate XXXVI)

Cologne
Early 3rd cent. (hairstyle)

38x46.5x19.5

L

Top fragment of a *stela* showing a medallion bust relief portrait of a woman wearing a *tunica* and rectangular cloak folded in a V across her chest. Her hair is parted in the middle and gathered behind her ears in a bob/loose bun.

B202 mode 7

-

Klinkenberg 1902, 127; Binsfeld 1960, 165 no. 5 & pl. 28.4; Noelke 1996a, 93 & no. 8.

RGM 100

-

U29 (plate XXXVI)

Cologne-Weiden

Early 3rd cent.

79x188x89

Marble

Very elaborate marble sarcophagus with reliefs on the sides showing the seasons personified and a medallion bust relief portrait of a couple on the front. The man's garments are almost completely eroded, but the woman wears a *tunica* and a *palla* around her shoulders. This sarcophagus formed part of an elaborate mausoleum which included two carved armchairs and the busts below (U30).

B106, B203 mode 3

-

Klinkenberg, 1906, IV 188 & pl. 16; Lehner 1918, no. 908; 1924, 150; Fremersdorf 1950, II pl. 75; 1957; Deckers/Noelke 1980; Sinn 2003.

RLB 14465 (cast)

Espérandieu VIII 6484

U30 (plate XXXVI)

Cologne-Weiden

Early 3rd cent.

69, 69 & 60

Marble

Three very expressive bust portraits in the round of a man and two women (perhaps a couple and their daughter). The man is naked. He has a short beard and hair cut to a short fringe on his forehead but quite long at the sides so as to cover his ears. The older-looking woman wears a *tunica* and *palla* around her shoulders and across her chest, the other an elaborately ruffled and wide-necked *tunica*. Their hair is parted in the middle and brought around to a low bun (3rd cent.). The busts were found in the same burial chamber in Weiden as the sarcophagus (U29), along with two stone statues of woven armchairs. Gabelmann believes the chamber is linked to a local villa complex and not to an urban road cemetery.

Older woman: B106, B203 mode 7

Younger woman: B106

-

Klinkenberg, 1906, IV 190; Lehner, 1918, no. 909-911; 1924, 150f.; Fremersdorf 1950, II pl. 72-74; Gabelmann 1987, 301; Sinn 2003.

RLB 14466-14468 (casts)

Espérandieu VIII 6485

U31 (plate XXXVII)

Cologne

Circa 240

57x66x15

L

Top part of a *stela* showing a standing niche relief portrait of a woman. She holds a bust of a man wearing a toga at her chest, with her right arm around it. It would seem that the stone began as a medallion portrait of the man and was extended to the standing portrait of the woman so that the original medallion bust portrait now sits in front of her chest as if she is holding it. In the other hand she holds a small case. It is unclear what type of tunic she wears but she has a *palla* draped around her hips and over her left shoulder. Her hair is parted in the middle and tied in a low bun (3rd cent.). It may be a Christian *stela*: on the sides of the stone there are depictions of figures in short tunics, one of which is holding a lamb like some depictions of Jesus. This was, however, also a common depiction for *humanitas* in pre-Christian iconography.

Woman: B203 mode 6; Man/boy: A301

-

Klinkenberg 1902, 130f.; Fremersdorf 1956, 5; Binsfeld 1960, 166, no. 30 & pl. 30.1; Noelke 1996a, 93.

RGM 193

Espérandieu VIII 6490

U32 (plate XXXVII)

Cologne

2nd quarter of 3rd cent. (Noelke); 2nd half of 3rd cent. (Galsterer/Galsterer)

83x52.5x33.8

L

Intact gabled *ara* with relief scenes on three sides. The inscriptions on the sides are imbedded in the scene, the one on the front runs below the portrait.

1. Front: A medallion bust relief portrait above a depiction of a man carrying a lamb (Cf. U31). The figure in the portrait wears a *tunica* and cloak draped across the chest. The traditional view is that the person depicted is a boy and that the stone was commissioned by the wet nurse Severina for her dead infant charge. The portrait could, however, easily depict Severina herself. The figure seems to have short hair, but if it were Severina depicted wearing the hairstyle she wears on the two depictions on the sides, the bun would be invisible from the front as it was tied behind the neck. The clothing depicted shows more resemblance to that worn in other female portraits from the area (Cf. U19 and U26): a *tunica* and *palla* draped around the shoulders.

2. Side: Severina bending over a cot. She wears a girt Gallic tunic and her hair is parted in the middle and brought above her ears to a loose bun at the nape of her neck (mid to late Severan: Noelke 94).

3. Side: Severina sitting in an armchair breastfeeding the child. She wears a foot-length tunic and cloak around her shoulders.

The stone is quite large (bearing in mind the inscription which would have been on a block below this one) and the quality is high, meaning it was probably expensive. It is unlikely that a wet nurse could afford such a stone. It is

more likely that it was commissioned *for* and not *by* Severina, probably by her employers. That would also explain why the figure in the portrait is so much older than the baby on the two sides of the stone.

1: B106, B203 mode 3 or mode 7

2: B101

3: ?

1: MEMORIAE

2: SEVERINA NVTRIX

3: SEVERINA NVTRIX

Severina is a common Latin name (*OPEL* IV, 76; Kajanto 1965, 257).

Kajanto 1965, 257; Mühlberg 1966, 6; Päffgen 1992, 1, 104-106 & 3, 654f. fig. 303; Noelke 1996a, 94 & no. 15 pl. 24.3-4.

RGM 66,59 & 74,414

Galsterer/Galsterer no. 331 pl. 73

U33

Cologne

3rd quarter of 3rd cent.

84x61x62

L

Intact *stela* showing a niche bust portrait of two women and a man. The older woman wears a flat bun on top of her head (fashionable under Gallienus), a Ubian tunic and Ubian cloak around her shoulders (cf. e.g. Doppelfeld 1967, 227 no. C125 & pl. 76). The same dress is worn by the younger woman. The man wears the full hairstyle of Gallienus and a *sagum* pinned on his right shoulder with a *fibula*.

This *stela* is carved on the back of the earlier *stela* U9.

Women: B105, B201 (x2); Man: A205

D(IIS) M(ANIBVS) LIBERALINIO | PROBINO TRIBVNO | Θ PRAETORIANO ET | LIBERALINIAE Θ PRO | BINA FILIAE EIIVS BAR | BARINIA ACCEPTA M | ARITO ET FILIAE OBITIS
Liberalinius must have been a praetorian tribune for Postumus or Gallienus (Galsterer/Galsterer, Doppelfeld). Liberalinius/a are Gallic versions of the Latin name Liberalis (*OPEL* III, 25; Weisgerber 281). Probinus/a are unusual Latin names (*OPEL* III, 164). Barbarinia seems to be a Gallic version of Latin Barbarus/a (*OPEL* I, 111). Accepta is a relatively common Latin cognomen (*OPEL* I, 18) quite popular among slaves/*liberti* (Kajanto 73, 134).

Fremersdorf 1950, II pl. 55; Binsfeld 1960, 166 no. 24; Kajanto 1965, 73; 134; Doppelfeld 1967, 178 no. A142; Weisgerber 1968, 281; Bracker 1975, 775f., pl. 4.2; Noelke 1996a, 94f.

RGM 11

CIL XIII 8267b; Galsterer/Galsterer 196b

U34

Cologne

3rd cent.

86x58x13

L

Fragment of a *stela* showing the bottom part of a medallion bust relief portrait of a woman wearing a Ubian cloak.

B201

ADNAMATIVS GA | LICANVS SORO | RI CARISSIME ET | AD-

NAMATIVS SPER | ATVS CONIVGI CO | NIVG(I) DVLCISSIME |
ADQVE INCOM[PARAB(ILI)] | TITV[L]VM PO[SVIT]

Adnamatius seems to be a northern Gallic version of Adnamatus which is Celtic (Weisgerber 173; 184) and was common in the Danube provinces (*OPEL* I, 23). Gallicanus is a relatively unusual name, perhaps Latin (Weisgerber 114: Galicanus), perhaps Celtic (Rémy 152), most common in Gaul (*OPEL* II, 159). Speratus is a relatively common Latin cognomen (*OPEL* IV, 91), particularly popular among slaves/*liberti* (Kajanto 77). Kajanto 1965, 77; Weisgerber 1968, 114; 173; 184; Rémy 2001, 152.

RGM 747

CIL XIII 8357; Galsterer/Galsterer no. 338 & pl. 74

U35

Cologne

3rd cent.

123x247x90

S

Intact sarcophagus with an inscription and three niche bust relief portraits on the lid.

1. The niche in the middle seems to portray the people mentioned in the text: a husband and wife with their small son. The husband wears a hooded Gallic cape. His wife wears a *palla* draped over her left shoulder. The son wears a Gallic tunic.

2. The figure in the far left niche is a woman wearing a Gallic bonnet and a *palla* over the left shoulder and across the front.

3. The figure on the right is a man wearing a stylised toga.

1: Woman: B203 mode 1; Man: A201; Boy: A101

2: B203 mode 1, B701

3: A301

D(IIS) M(ANIBVS) | VERECVNDINIAE PLACID(A)E | SIVE
SOIONI CONIVGI | DVLCISSIMAE QVAE VIXIT | ANN(IS)
XXVIII ET VERECVNDI NEOI DE | SIDERIO FIL(IO) EIIVS DE-
SIDERATVS | CVRMILLI NEG(OTIATOR) ARTIS LAPIDARIAE |
C VIVVS SIBI ET IIS OBITIS FECIT

Verecundinius/a seem to be a Gallic versions of the common Latin name Verecundus/a (*OPEL* IV, 157f.). Placida is a common Latin name (*OPEL* III, 144). Soio/Soionus is Celtic (Raepsaet-Charlier 389). Desiderius and Desideratus appear to be Latin but are confined to northern Gaul and the Germanies (*OPEL* II, 98). Curmillus (*OPEL* II, 88) is Celtic (Weisgerber 1968, 184).

Klinkenberg 1906, 313; Fremersdorf 1950, II pl. 81; Weisgerber 1968, 184; Raepsaet-Charlier 2001a, 389. For further literature see Galsterer/Galsterer and Espérandieu.

RGM 642

CIL XIII 8352; Espérandieu VIII 6437; ILS 7538; Galsterer/Galsterer no. 325 & pl. 71

U36

Cologne

3rd cent.

77x44x12

S

Almost intact *stela* showing a medallion bust relief por-

trait of a woman wearing a *tunica* and *palla* over her left shoulder.

B106, B203 mode 1

D(IIS) M(ANIBVS) | ET PERPETVE | SECVRITATI | IVL(IAE)
BVRSPR(A)E | IVL(IVS) KALVISIVS | SORORI F(ACIENDVM)
C(VRAVIT)

Burspra is only otherwise once attested, also in Belgica (*OPEL* I, 132) and is uncertain in origin (Weisgerber 199) although it may be Celtic (Weisgerber 180f., 217: Ucsperus). Kalvisius is an alternative spelling for Calvisius, an unspecified name (Weisgerber 199) relatively unusual outside Italy (*OPEL* II, 27).

Klinkenberg 1902, 124 no. 62; 1906, 295; Binsfeld 1960, 165 no. 12 & pl. 28.1; Weisgerber 1968, 180f.; 199; 217.

RGM 458

CIL XIII 8392; Galsterer/Galsterer no. 368 & pl. 82

U37

Cologne

3rd cent.

91x32x13

L

Intact *stela* with a medallion bust relief portrait of a man wearing a Gallic tunic.

A101

D(IIS) M(ANIBVS) | SENVATIO | TERTIO BAS | SIANIA FELI |
CVLA CONIV | GI KARISSIM(O)

Senuatius is Celtic (Weisgerber 185). Tertius, Bassiana and Felicula are Latin names (Weisgerber 114f.). Tertius is a common cognomen (*OPEL* IV, 114f.). Bassiana/us are attested 24 times, half of them in Gaul (*OPEL* I, 113). Felicula is especially common in Hispania and Dalmatia (*OPEL* II, 137f.).

Klinkenberg 1902, 125 no. 65; 1906, 291; Lehner, 1918, 337 no. 850; Weisgerber 1968, 114f., 185.

RLB 12110

CIL XIII 8419; Espérandieu VIII 6496; Galsterer/Galsterer no. 366 & pl. 82

U38 (plate XXXVIII)

Cologne

Early 4th cent.

-

-

Top part of *stela* showing a very coarsely worked half-figure niche portrait of a woman wearing a *palla* draped over her head. Her hairstyle (flat bun on top of the head) is typical of the Tetrarchic period.

B203 mode 5

-

Klinkenberg 1902, 131; Binsfeld 1960, 166 no. 27 & pl. 29.3.

RGM 301

-

U39 (plate XXXVIII)

Cologne

-

33

-

Headless statuette of a woman wearing a *palla* around her shoulders and a disc pendant around her neck. It is

strongly stylised as two concentric rings around a circle in the middle. Wild calls this Menimane's ensemble. This is not entirely true, the cloak is draped in a Roman style, and there are no signs of any *fibulae*, although they could be covered by the cloak.

B203 mode 3, B801

-

Klinkenberg, 1906, 232; Lehner, 1918, no. 581; Wild 1985, 393 note 106.

RLB 3186

Espérandieu VIII 6480

U40 (plate XXXVI)

Cologne

-

55x138x72

L

Fragment of a portrait relief scene showing the top halves of three standing figures. The outer two are men, the middle one a woman. The heads are eroded away. The man on the left wears a Gallic cape which is drawn up on his right shoulder. The woman has a large cloak around both shoulders and across her stomach. As such, it could be either the Ubian cloak or the *palla*. Her undergarment is unclear. The man on the right wears a Gallic tunic and a toga.

Man: A201; Woman: ?; Man: A101, A301

-

Klinkenberg 1906, 345; 350; Willer 2005, no. 149 with further literature.

RGM 446

Espérandieu VIII 6504

U41 (plate XXXVIII)

Bonn

14-37

58x35x22

L

Stela, in fragments today but drawn by G. Cuper in the 17th cent. It is a half-figure niche relief portrait of a man wearing a tunic and cape held by a brooch in the drawing. Given the cut of the garment, it is much more likely that Cuper's drawing is inaccurate with regard to the brooch and that he is actually wearing a Gallic tunic and cape. Cloaks with brooches were never worn by men like this across the chest. In Cuper's drawing, he is holding two sticks above a square-shaped block. Bauchhenß believes that on the original, The man was probably holding a hammer and tongs or some other instrument and that the block was actually an anvil.

A101, A201

SVLLAE SENNI F(ILIO) | REMO ARGENTARIO [- - -].

The name Sulla is Roman. The name Sennius is Celtic (Weisgerber 315).

For reservations about the accuracy of the inscription in Cuper's drawing see Bauchhenß' remarks in *CSIR*, page 16.

Weisgerber 1935, 316. For further literature see *CSIR*.

RLB 28659

CIL XIII 8104; Espérandieu VIII 6218; *CSIR Deutschland* III,2, no. 2

U42 (plate XXXIX)

Bonn

40-49

1.29x62x23

L

Fragment of a *stela* showing a niche bust relief portrait of a man wearing an imperial toga and holding a scroll in his right hand. His face is broken away.

A103, A301,2

P(VBLIVS) ROMA | NIVS P(VBLII) L(IBERTVS) | MODESTVS | ANNORVM | XVI H(IC) S(ITVS) E(ST)

Romanus is Latin (Alföldy 337, Weisgerber 115). Modestus is Latin (Weisgerber 115) and common among slaves/*liberti* (Kajanto 68f.).

Kajanto 1965, 68f.; Weisgerber 1968, 115; Alföldy 1969, 337. For further literature see *CSIR*.

RLB 3745

CIL XIII 8115; Espérandieu VIII 6290; *CSIR Deutschland* III,2 no. 1

U43 (plate XXXVIII)

Bonn

41-54

67x87x19

L

Fragment of a *stela* showing two half-figure niche relief portraits on top of each other. The portrait at the top shows two men (wrongly identified by Espérandieu as a man and a woman) wearing *tunicae* and togas and holding scrolls in their left hands. With their right hands they hold their garments. The man on the left is sitting slightly in front of the man on the right (left: father? right: son?). Only the heads of the bottom niche are left. They are women with curious hairstyles that cover their foreheads almost to their eyes. The one on the left has something wrapped horizontally around her head. It is not clear whether these are braids of hair or bands of cloth. The woman on the left has her hair pulled back from her face in thick strands which seem to consist of tight curls. Bauchhenß believes the woman on the left to be older than the other on account of her facial features (mother/daughter?).

A103 (x2), A301,2 (x2)

-

For literature see *CSIR*.

RLB U 200

Espérandieu VIII 6274; *CSIR Deutschland* III,2 no. 4

U44 (plate XXXIX)

Bonn

Before 69

47x27x32

L

Fragment of a life-sized portrait statue/relief (back is broken off so unclear) of a woman. All that remains is her left arm and the left side of her chest. This is enough, however, to see that she wears the Ubian tunic and cloak. She also wears two finger rings, a bangle, a torque and a disc pendant.

B105, B201, B801

-

Andrikopolou-Strack 1986, 79, 185 U1 & pl. 11. For

further literature See *CSIR*.

RLB 8572

Espérandieu VIII 6286; *CSIR Deutschland* III,2 no. 56

U45 (plate XXXIX)

Bonn

166-200

77x61x18

L

Fragment of a *stela* showing a relief meal scene. On the left sits a woman in a high-backed chair wearing a Ubian tunic and cloak (cf. U9 & U10). She has a child on her lap who wears a knee-length Gallic tunic. Behind them is a servant in a Gallic tunic. To the right of the woman in the chair there is a table laden with fruit. Behind it, there are two people. The one on the left is a woman wearing a Gallic tunic and rectangular cloak draped around the neck and shoulders (cf. T128 and T148). The one on the right is a man wearing a Gallic tunic. The scene seems to have continued to the right, but it is broken away. All the heads of the figures are broken off. This is the only known family meal scene from Bonn.

Woman on left: B105, B201; Woman in middle: B101, B202 mode 4; Man: A101; Child: A101/B101; Servant: A101

-

For literature see *CSIR*.

RLB 63.1273

CSIR Deutschland III,2 no. 36

U46

Bonn

2nd/3rd cent.

43x133x60

Trachyt

Block fragment, the front of which shows the remains of a standing niche relief portrait of a couple from their shoulders to their waist. They are holding *hands (dextrarum iunctio)*. The man wears a half-sleeved tunic and a Gallic cape rolled up over his right shoulder. He is holding a scroll. The woman is also wearing a half-sleeved tunic and some sort of cloak that is drawn across the shoulders. The fragment is too eroded to decipher anything more clearly, but their tunics have a distinctly native appearance on account of their fitted character. On one side of the block is the middle portion of a figure in a long-sleeved, girt tunic carrying a box (religious context?).

Man: ?, A201

Woman: ?

-

Willer 2005, no. 31 & pl. 21.2

RLB 74.4331

CSIR Deutschland III,2 no. 55

U47 (plate XXXVIII)

Bonn

1st half of 3rd cent.

31x53x7

L

Top fragment of a *stela* showing a medallion bust relief portrait of a woman wearing a *tunica* and *palla* over her

left shoulder (cf. U25 and U36). Her hair is cut in a fringe above the forehead and is shoulder-length at the sides and back. Some of the inscription has survived to either side of the medallion and below it.

B106, B203 mode 1

D(IIS) M(ANIBVS) | VICTORIAE

Victoria is a common Latin name.

For literature see *CSIR*.

RLB U 2189

CIL XIII 8118; Espérandieu VIII 6303; *CSIR Deutschland* III,2 no. 29

U48 (plate XXXIX)

Bonn

3rd cent.

35x43x8

L

Fragment of a *stela* showing a medallion bust relief portrait of a man wearing a Gallic tunic and cape. Some of the inscription has survived to either side of the medallion and below it.

A101, A201

D(IIS) M(ANIBVS) | SENAVCIO | SEVRO RE [- - -]

Senaucius is Celtic (Weisgerber 185). Weisgerber (238; 240) sees Sevrus as Seurus, a name of Spanish origin. Bauchhenß points out that the Roman Sev(e)rus is also conceivable.

Weisgerber 1968, 185; 238; 240. For further literature see *CSIR*.

RLB 24421

CIL XIII 12044; Espérandieu VIII 6302; *CSIR Deutschland* III,2 no. 28

U49 (plate XXXIX)

Bonn

3rd cent.

26x115x34

L

Fragment (perhaps the lid of a sarcophagus – see *CSIR* and Lehner) showing a standing niche relief portrait of a couple. From their waists down is broken away. The woman wears a Gallic tunic, rectangular cloak around her shoulders and a tight Gallic bonnet. The man has a beard and wears a Gallic tunic. There is a long bulge of cloth over his left shoulder, which he grips with his left hand. It is unclear whether this is meant to be a stylised toga or a rolled-up side of a cape.

Woman: B101, B202 mode 1 B701; Man: A101, ?

D(IIS) M(ANIBVS) | [- - -]

Lehner 1905, II pl. 28 no. 1; 1918, 324 no. 809; 1924, 153. For further literature see *CSIR*.

RLB 4108

CIL XIII 8130; Espérandieu VIII 6288; *CSIR Deutschland* III,2 no. 43

U50

Efferen, near Cologne

Mid 1st cent.

56x29x59

L

Fragment showing a standing niche relief portrait of a man in a *tunica* and toga. On the side, Attis mourning.

A103, A301,2

-

Andrikopolou-Strack 1986, 43-44; 180, pl. 8 & 26. For further literature see Andrikopolou-Strack 180.

RGM 310

-

U51 (plate XL)

Pesch

41-68

Approx. 185x120x45 (Lehner's reconstruction)

L

Ten fragments of a *stela* which was reused in a late Roman grave. It is of high quality: Bauchhenß suspects it was made in a workshop in one of the larger urban centres (Cologne, Bonn). Reconstructed, the stone has three parts: a bust relief portrait of a couple in a shell niche, below that, the inscription, and at the bottom, niche bust relief portraits of three men.

1. Couple: The middle part of the stone is missing today, but according to Lehner's reconstruction the man wears a toga, and the woman a *tunica*, *palla* and a Ubian bonnet.

2. Three men wearing togas (probably the couple's sons). The one on the right holds a scroll.

1: Man: A103, A301,2; Woman: B106, B203, B702

2: A103 (x3), A301,2 (x3)

[---] NA[S]ONI GRADIIQ | [--- CON]IVGI | [---].

Naso is Latin (Weisgerber 115). Gradi(i)us is unattested.

Lehner 1918, no. 782; Weisgerber 1968, 115. For further literature see *CSIR*.

RLB 19811; 19813; 19815

Espérandieu VIII 6364; *CSIR Deutschland* III,2, no.3

U52

Meschenich

2nd half of 2nd cent.

34x17x10

-

Fragment showing a niche bust relief of a child or youth (gender uncertain) holding an unidentifiable object. Almost certainly part of a larger portrait scene. He/she wears a Gallic tunic.

A101/B101

-

For literature see *CSIR*.

RLB 7694

Espérandieu VIII 6374; *CSIR Deutschland* III,2 no. 5

U53

Zülpich

-

29x45.5x35

S

Fragment of an *ara* showing the bottom part of a medallion bust relief portrait of a man wearing a *tunica* and *pallium*.

A103, A204

-

Noelke 1996a, no. 13a.

In the wall of the Roman baths in the Propstei-Museum, Zülpich

-

U54

Zülpich

-

61x150x52

S

Middle fragment of a life-sized standing niche relief portrait of a man wearing a Gallic tunic and cape and holding a *codex*.

A101, A201

-

Petrikovits 1938/39, 440 & pl. 61.2; Willer 2005, no. 229 with further literature.

RLB

Espérandieu Supp. III 8552

U55 (plate XL)

Unknown. prob. Bonn

3rd cent.

40x48x12

L

Fragment of a *stela* with two medallion bust relief portraits above the remains of the inscription. The left medallion is almost completely broken away. Only half of the one on the right remains. It depicts a man wearing a Gallic tunic and cape.

A101, A201

M(ARCO) VALERIO LVI[. .] | I NEGOTIATO[RI] | [V]INARI[O] - - - | [- - -]

Valerius is a common Latin name (*OPEL* IV, 143-146).

Lui- is of uncertain origin (Weisgerber 200).

Weisgerber 1968, 200. For further literature see *CSIR*.

RLB U 113

CIL XIII 8105; Espérandieu VIII 6276; *CSIR Deutschland* III,2 no. 26.

Scenes from Everyday Life:

U56

Cologne

Late 1st cent.

89x60x49

L

Block fragment of a relief scene from a large monument depicting the back of ship with a helmsman wearing a Gallic tunic, cape and scarf and five rowers, one wearing drawers, another wearing a Gallic cape and another wearing leg wrappings (the clothing of the other two cannot be seen). This is the earliest example of a scene from everyday life on a monument from the Rhine-Moselle region, excluding Blussus' boat (M12) or military scenes. Helmsman: A101, A201, A501; Rower 1: A403; Rower 2: A201; Rower 3: A402

Neu 1982; Andrikopolou-Strack 1986, 127f., 198 U39.

RGM

-

U57

Cologne

138-192

-

-
Fragment of a relief scene showing a man sacrificing and wearing a *tunica* and toga.

A103, A301,2

Schoppa 1957, pl. 85; Doppelfeld/Biegel/Bracker 1975, 746, pl. VII, 9.

-
-

U58

Cologne-Deutz

-

55x53x57

L

Fragment of a relief scene showing a shepherd and four sheep. The shepherd wears a Gallic tunic and cape with a pointed hood and long sleeves.

A101, A201

Klinkenberg, *BJ* 1902, 115; 1906, 359-361; Lehner 1924, 149; Wild 1985, 380f.

RLB CXL

Espérandieu VIII 6541

U59 (plate XL)

Thorr

1st half of 3rd cent.

71x110x17 (this fragment reconstructed)

L

Several reconstructed fragments of a relief scene from a very large monument. It shows ten people (Espérandieu wrongly counted eight) standing in two rows of five and facing to the left. The top and bottom portions remain, the middle part is lost so that some of the garments are unclear. They seem to all be facing a small construction on the left, of which only a small part remains.

Front row (from L-R): The first two are men, the second has a beard. They both wear Gallic capes. The next two are women, of which most of the garments of the first remain. Above her lifted forearms you can see the gathered V of her Ubian cloak. This is identical to the capes of the women in the back row, of which only the top parts are visible. Only the very bottom of the fourth figure (woman) is visible, but she is certainly a woman on account of her ankle-length tunic, presumably of the same style worn by the other women. The fifth figure is unclear (although probably a woman).

Back row (from L-R): Of the five in the background, one can only see their heads and parts of some of their garments. The first three are men wearing Gallic capes. The last two are women wearing Ubian cloaks. Bauchhenß is not certain whether the second really is a woman. It is, however, obvious that it is a woman from the almost identical depiction of the top part of the garment to the woman next to her. The women's hairstyles are of the early 3rd cent.

It is unclear what this scene depicts. Lehner (1924, 157) interpreted it as a funerary procession. Bauchhenß believes it might be a religious procession for the local Matrons as it is comparable to relief scenes from Bonn which show such processions (e.g. Espérandieu XI 7774).

Women: B201 (x4); Men: A201 (x4)

Lehner 1918, no. 913; 1924, 157; Hahl 1937, 34;

Hahl/Gonzenbach 1960, 42; Wild 1968a.

RLB 17895

Espérandieu VIII 6321; *CSIR Deutschland* III,2 no. 48 (Bauchhenß)

U60

Unknown. Ubian area

1st half of 3rd cent.

40x21x12

L

Fragment of a relief scene. It shows a man in a Gallic cape holding a large jug. As such he could be a servant in a meal scene or a person sacrificing.

A201

Lehner 1905, 1 pl. 30.3; 1918, 363 no. 921.

RLB 28662

CSIR Deutschland III,2 no. 37

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 U5,4: Photograph Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne
- Plate XXXII: U4: Photograph Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne
 U6: Photograph Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne
 U12: Photograph Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne
 U12,1: Photograph Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne
 U12,2: Photograph Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne
 U12,3: Photograph Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne
- Plate XXXIII: U7: Photograph Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne
 U9: Photograph Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne
 U10: Photograph Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne
 U13: Photograph LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn
- Plate XXXIV: U14: Photograph Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne
 U15: Photograph Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne
 U16: Photograph Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne
 U17: Photograph LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn
 U20: Photograph Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne
 U24: Photograph Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne
- Plate XXXV: U19: Photograph Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne
 U22: Photograph Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne
 U23: Photograph Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne
 U25: Photograph LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn
- Plate XXXVI: U28: Photograph Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne
 U29: Photograph Espérandieu VIII 6484
 U30: Photograph Espérandieu VIII 6485
 U40: Photograph Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne
- Plate XXXVII: U31: Photograph Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne
 U32,1: Photograph Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne
 U32,2: Photograph Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne
 U32,3: Photograph Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne
- Plate XXXVIII: U38: Photograph Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne
 U39: Photograph Espérandieu VIII 6480
 U41: Drawing by G. Cuper
 U43: Photograph LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn
 U47: Photograph Espérandieu VIII 6303
- Plate XXXIX: U42: Photograph LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn
 U44: Photograph LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn
 U45: Photograph LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn
 U48: Photograph LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn
 U49: Photograph LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn
- Plate XL: U51: Photograph LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn
 U51: Reconstruction drawing Lehner
 U55: Photograph Espérandieu VIII 6276
 U59: Photograph LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn

Plate I



T6



T9



T12



T7



T19



T16

Plate I



T6



T7



T9



T12



T19



T16

Plate II



T20



T21



T26,3



T28



T23



T26,1

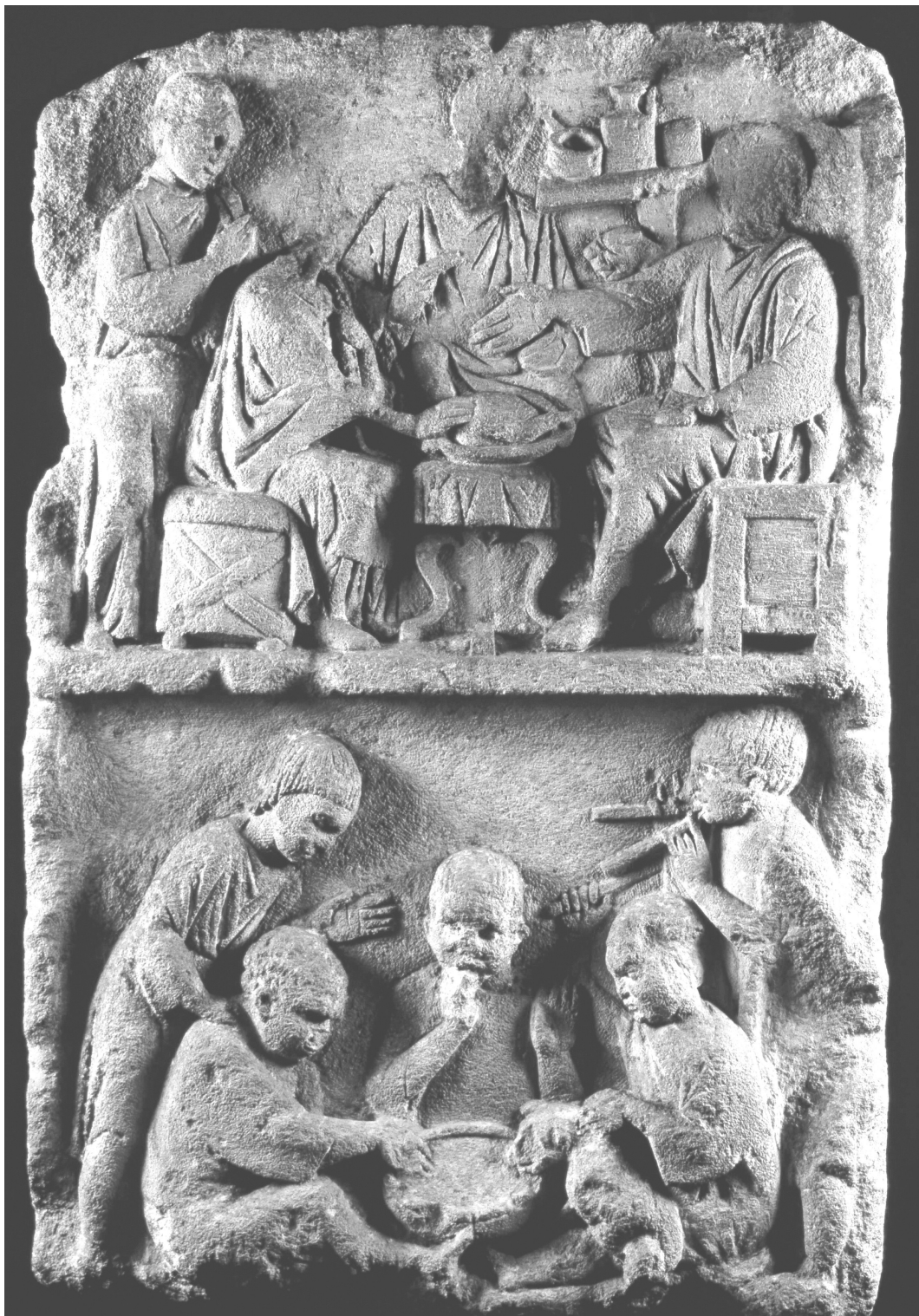
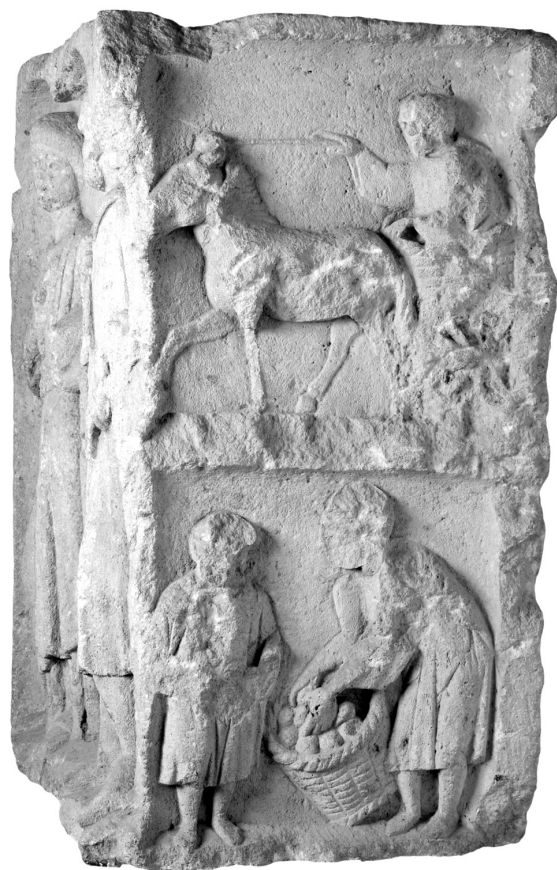


Plate IV



T30,1



T30,3



T30,2



T31

Plate V



T33,1



T33,2

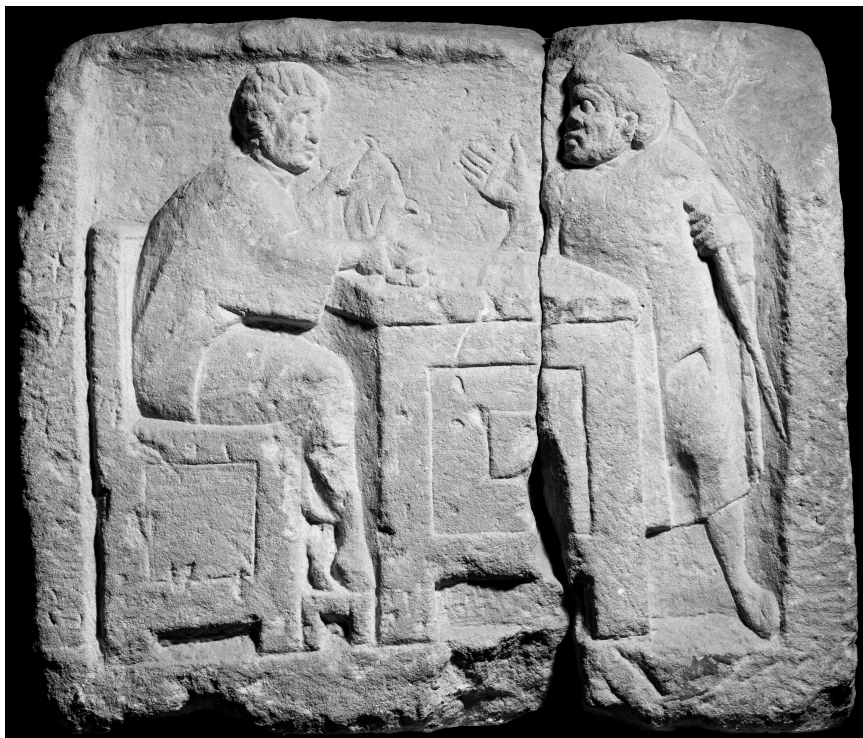


T33,3

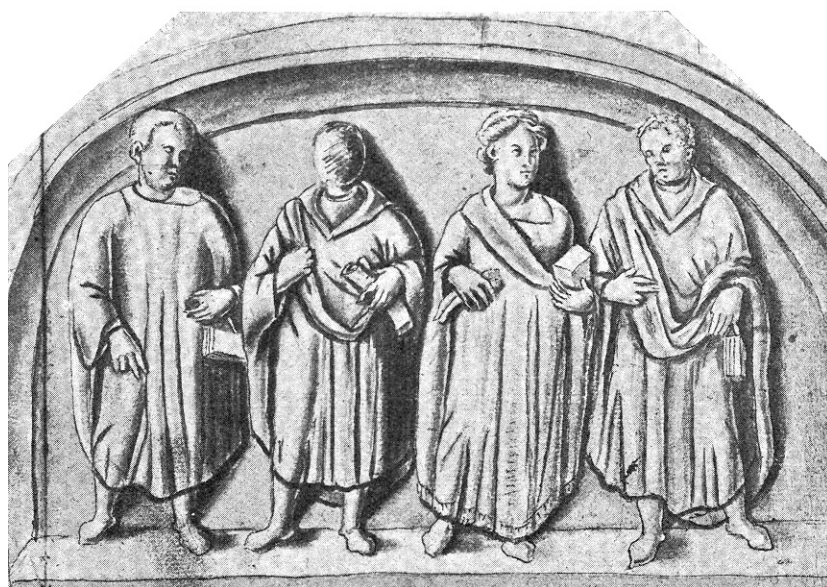


T34

Plate VI



T35,2



T37

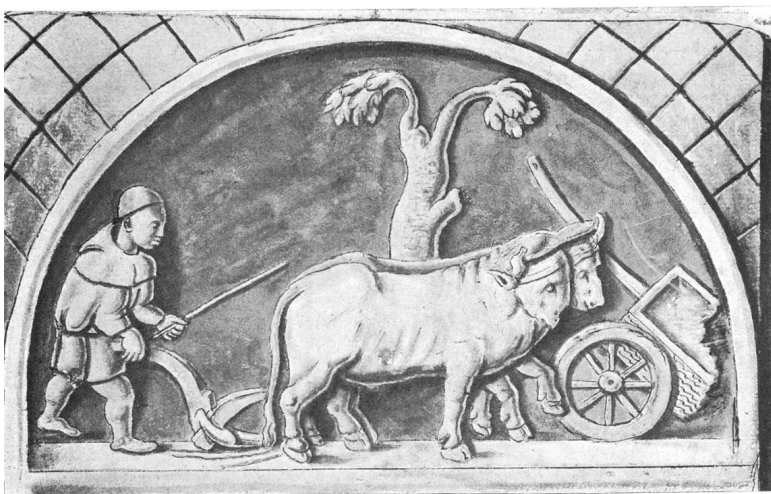


T38,2

Plate VII



T38,1



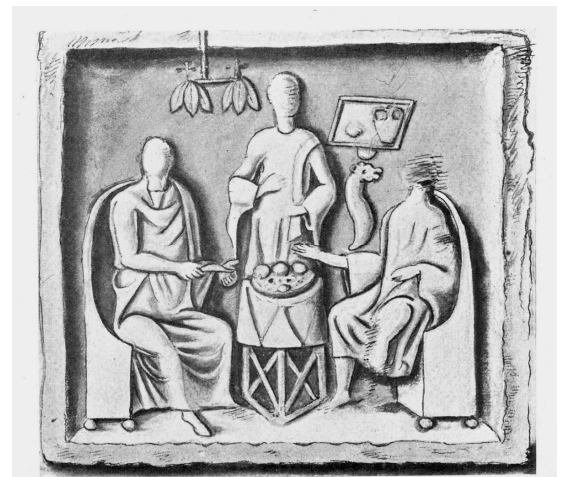
T38,3



T42



T40

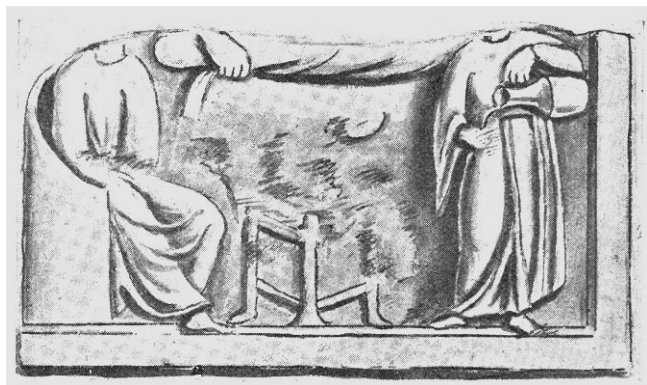


T43

Plate VIII



T39



T44



T57



T45



T59

Plate IX



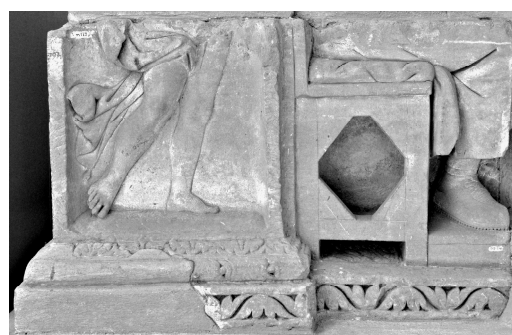
T46



T47,1a



T47,1b

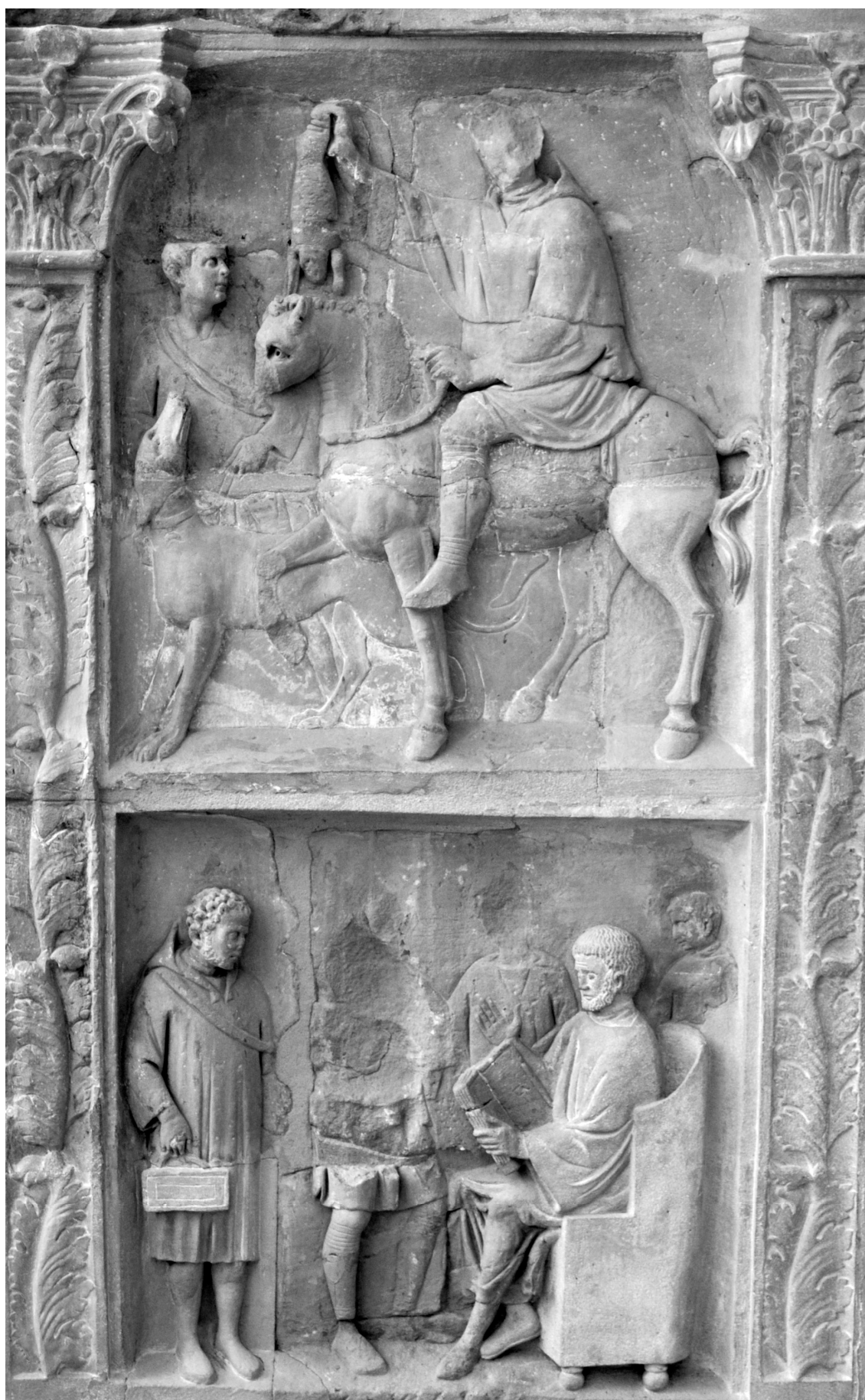


T47,3



T47,4

Plate X



T56,2/3

Plate XI



T60



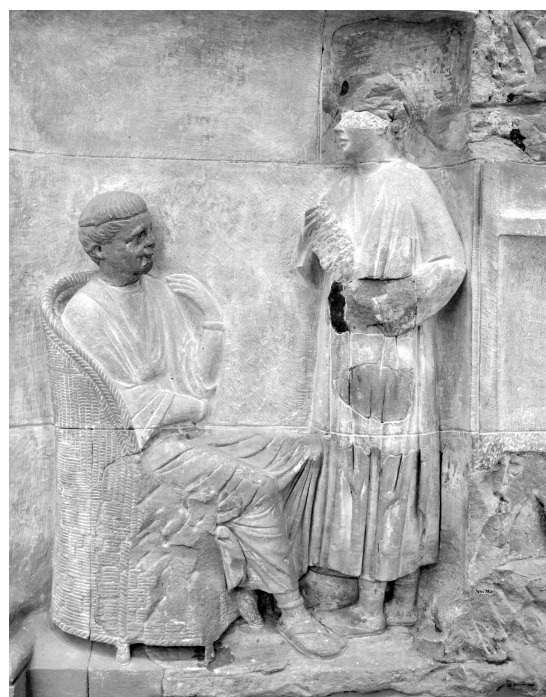
T60,1



T60,2/3



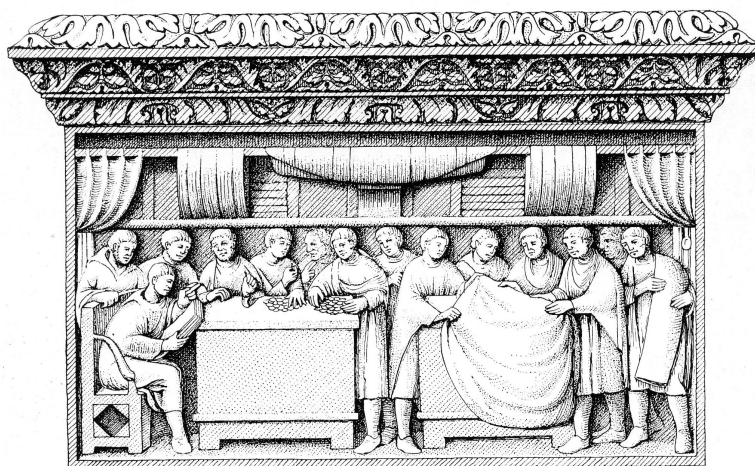
T60,5



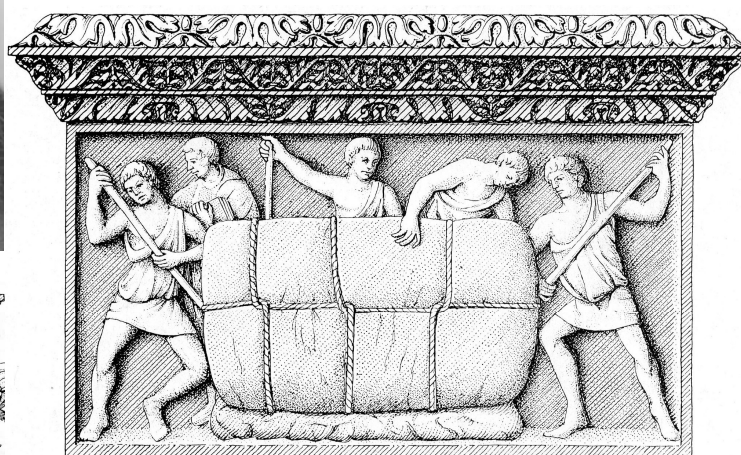
T60,4



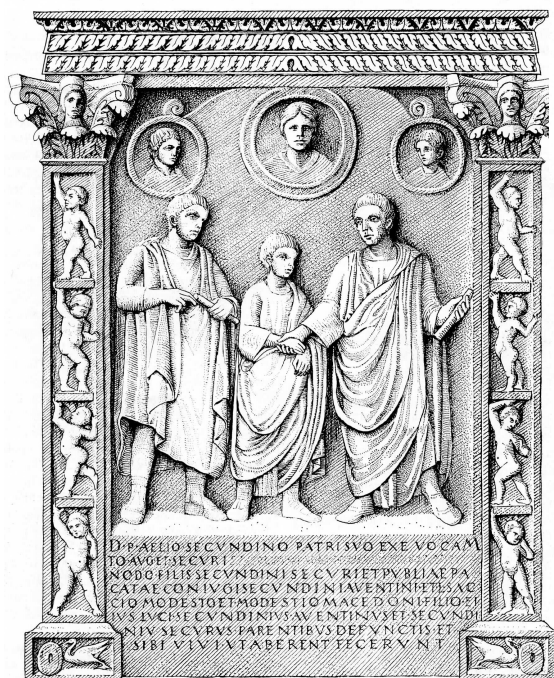
T62



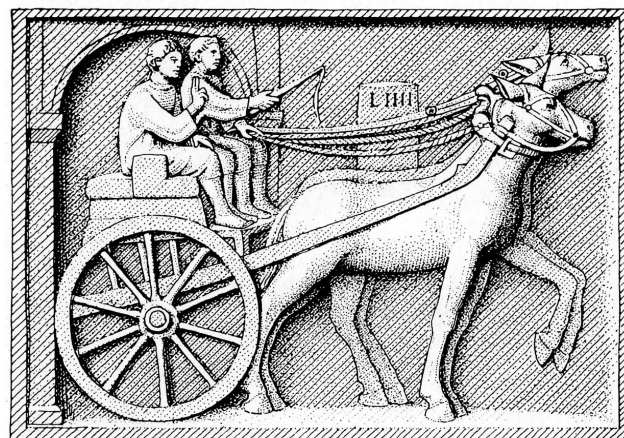
T62, Base South



T62, Base North



T62, Aedicula South



T62, Attica West



T62, Frieze West

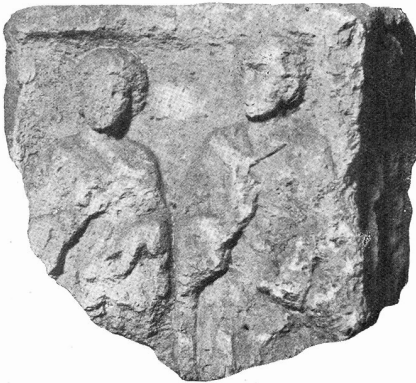
Plate XIII



T68



T71,2



T73



T74



T83

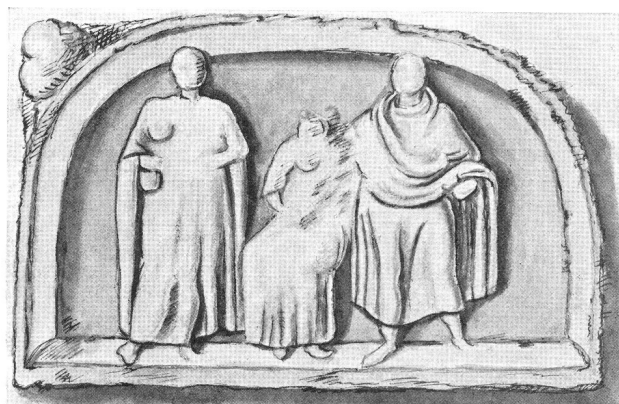


T85

Plate XIV



T77



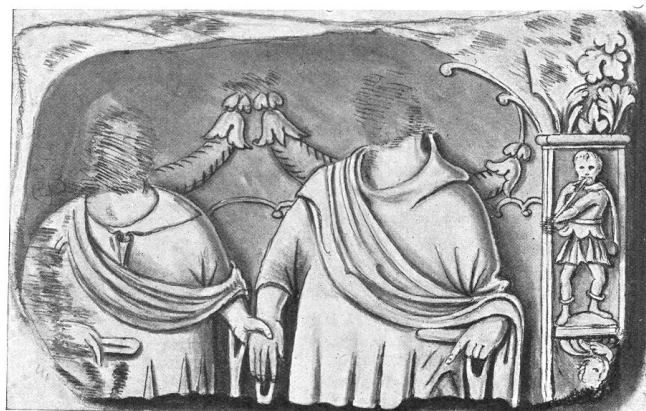
T78



T82



T89



T87,1



T87,2

Plate XV



T88



T94



T103,1



T103,2



T111

Plate XVI



T105



T108



T109



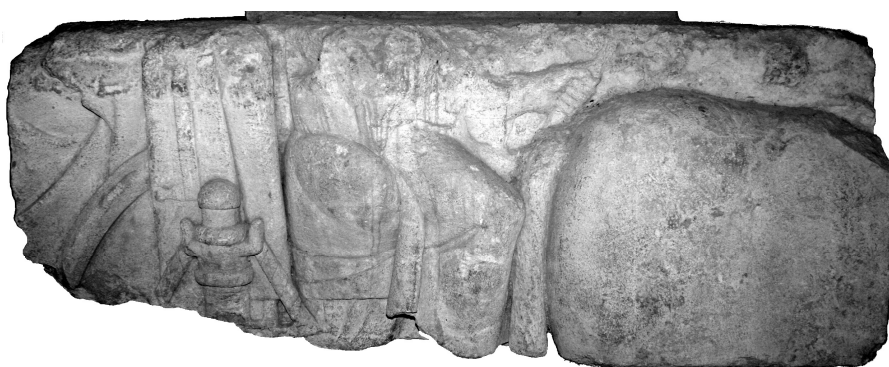
T110, 1



T113



T114, 1 detail

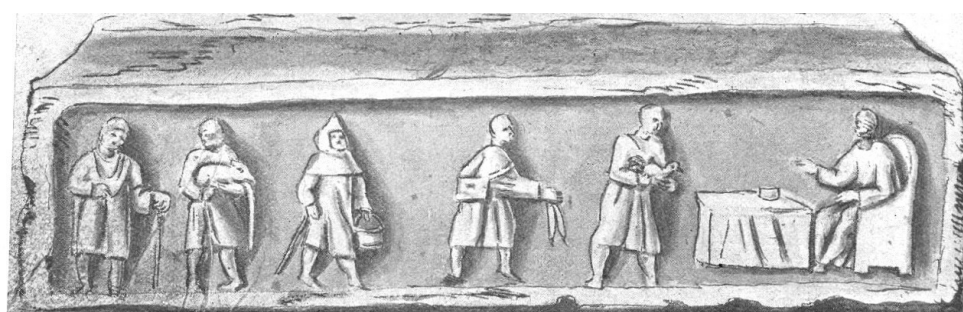


T114, 3

Plate XVII



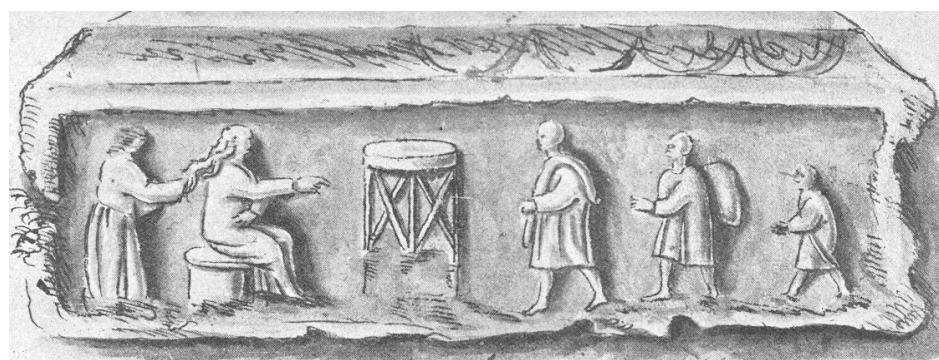
T115



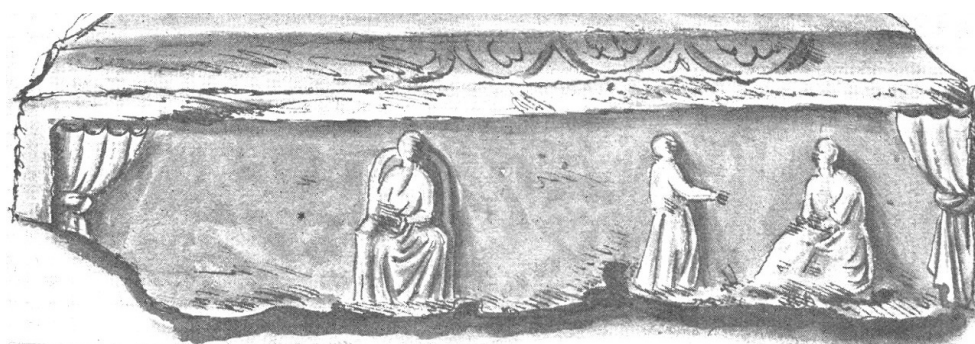
T117,1



T117,2



T117,3



T117,4

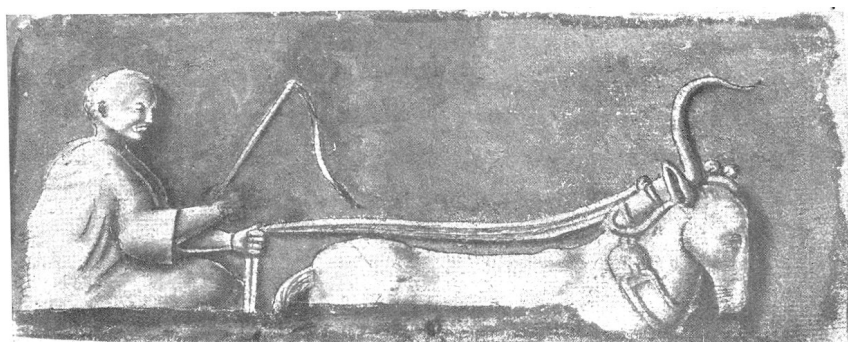
Plate XVIII



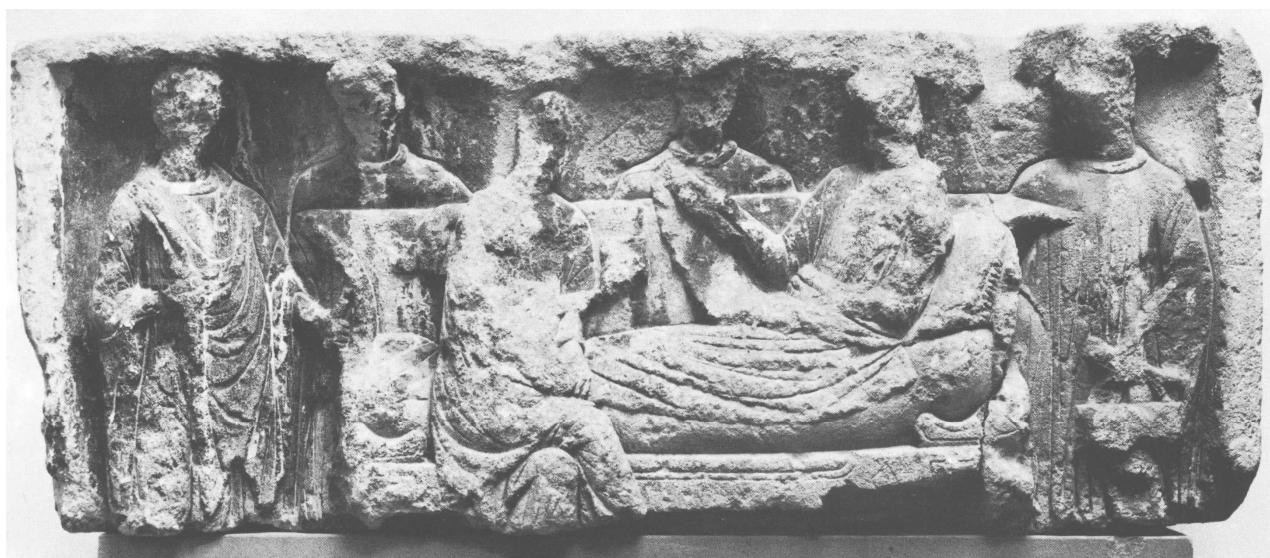
T116



T125



T124



T122

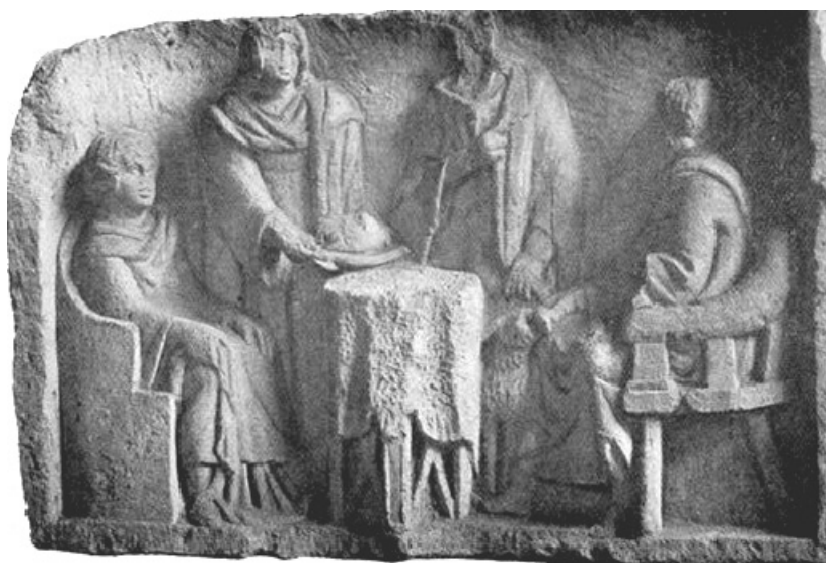
Plate XIX



T127



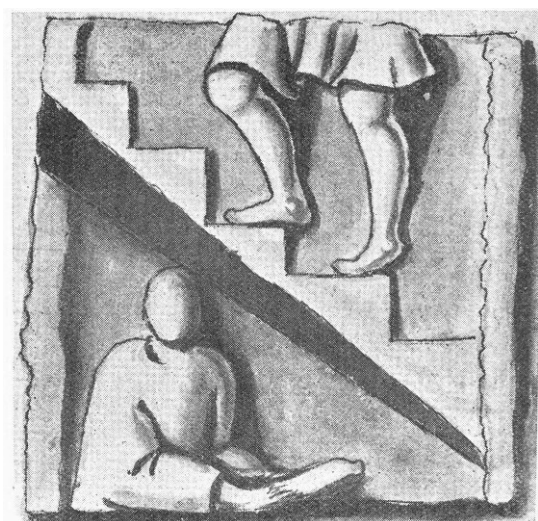
T128,2



T128,1



T128,3



T163



T129,1



T129,4

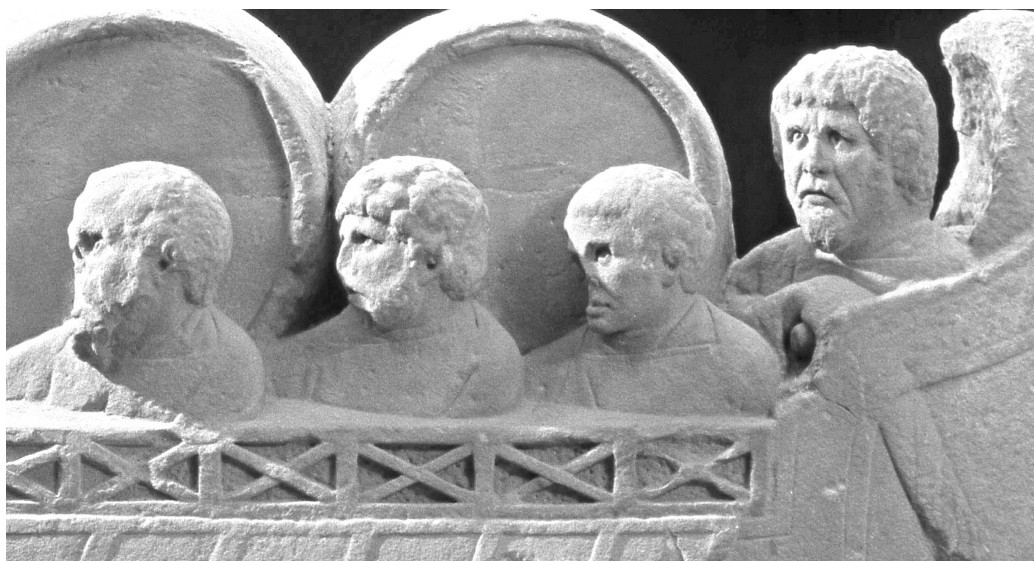


T145



T148

Plate XXI



T148 Detail



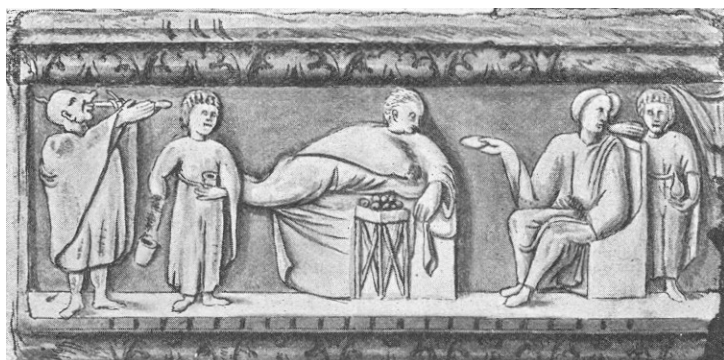
T162



T164



T165



T169,1



Plate XXII



T166



T168,2



170,2



170,3



T170,1

Plate XXIII



T172



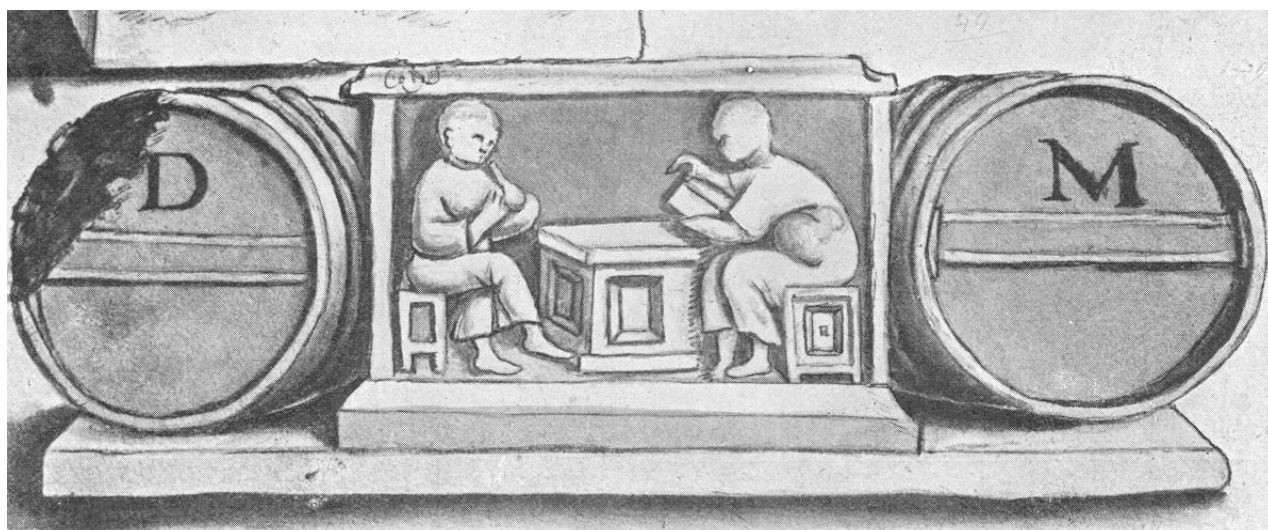
T186



T175,2

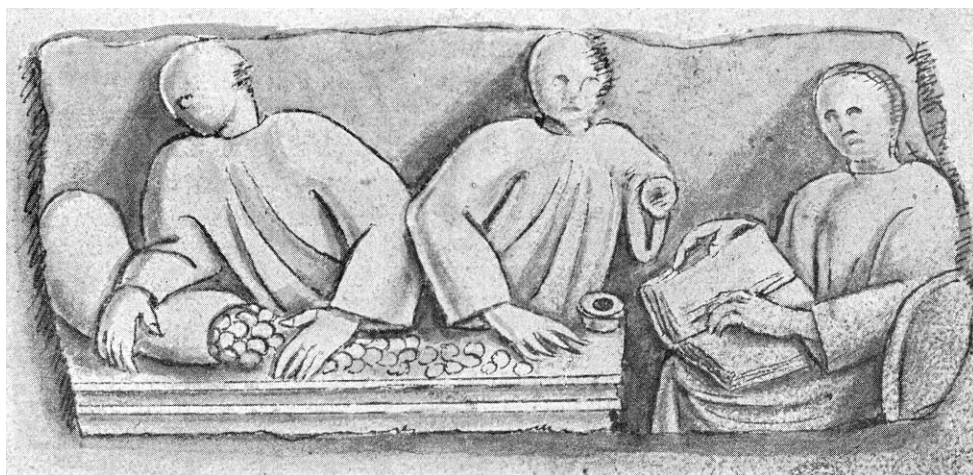


T175,3

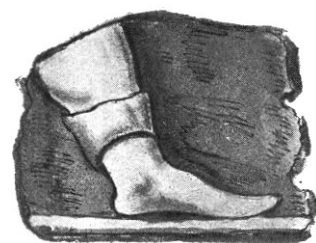


T184

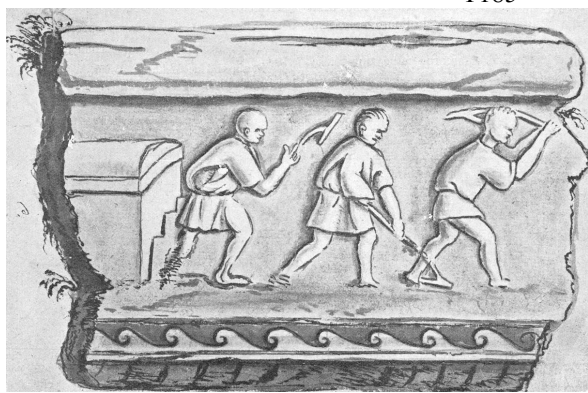
Plate XXIV



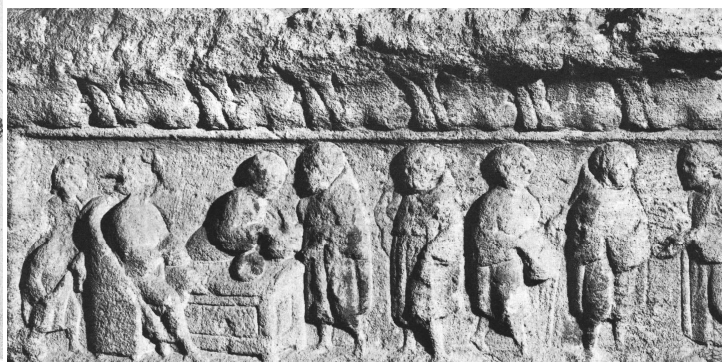
T185



T188



T187



168,1



M1



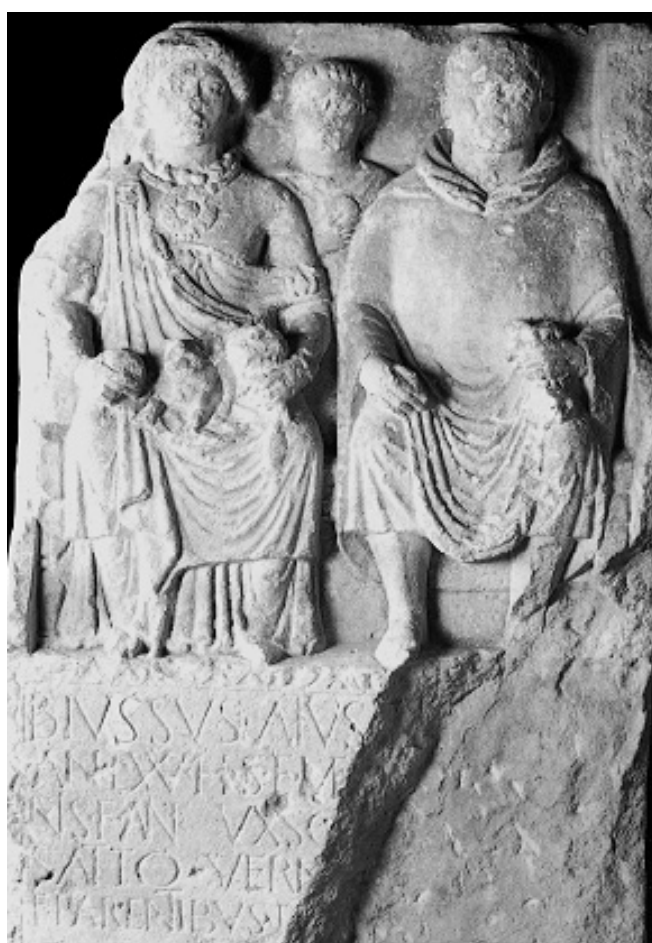
M4



M5



M37



M12



Plate XXVI



M13



M18



M14



M21

Plate XXVII



M20



M40



M22,1



M22,3



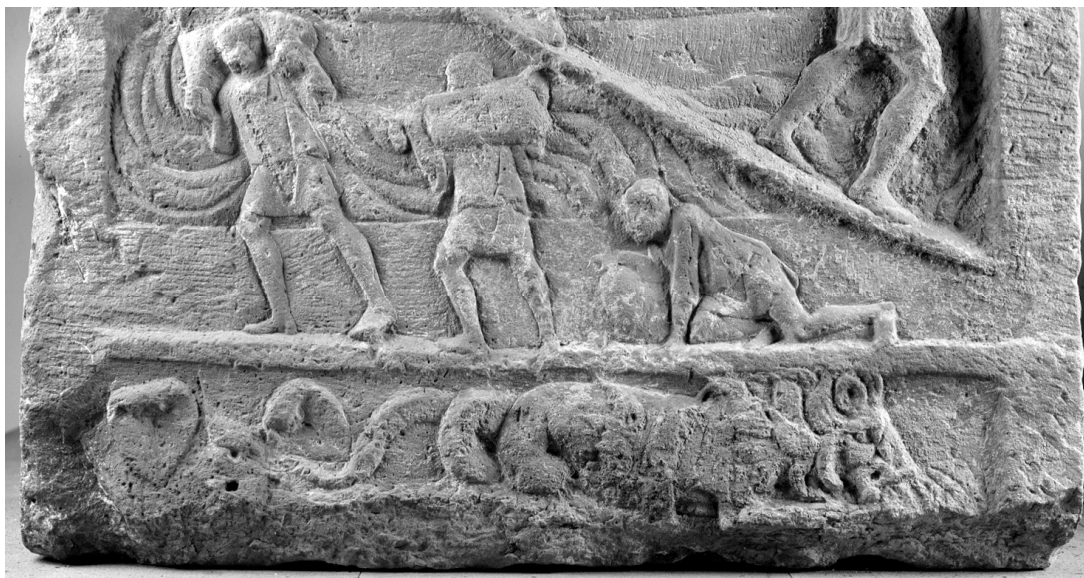
Plate XXIX



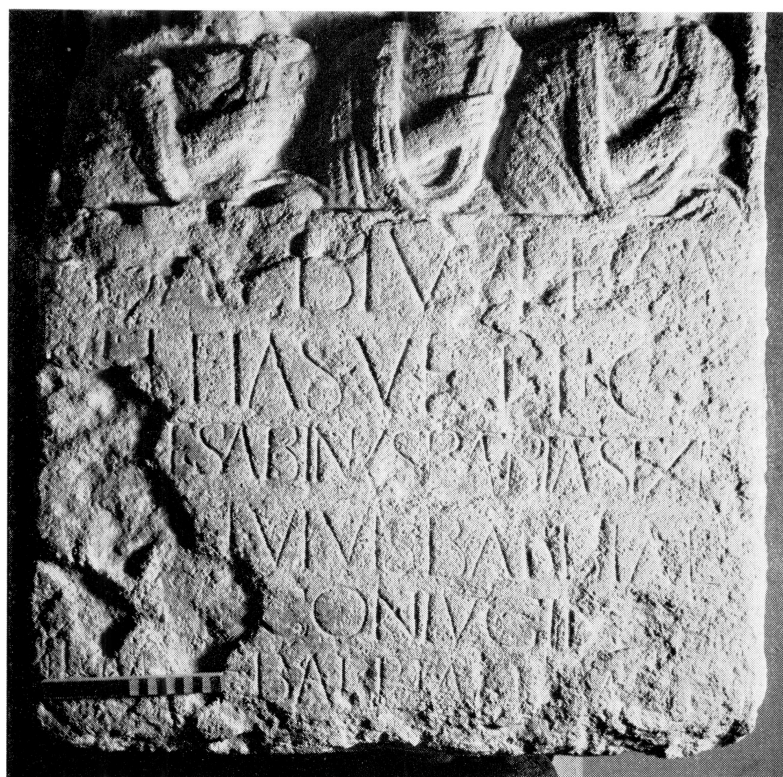
M36, A



M36, B



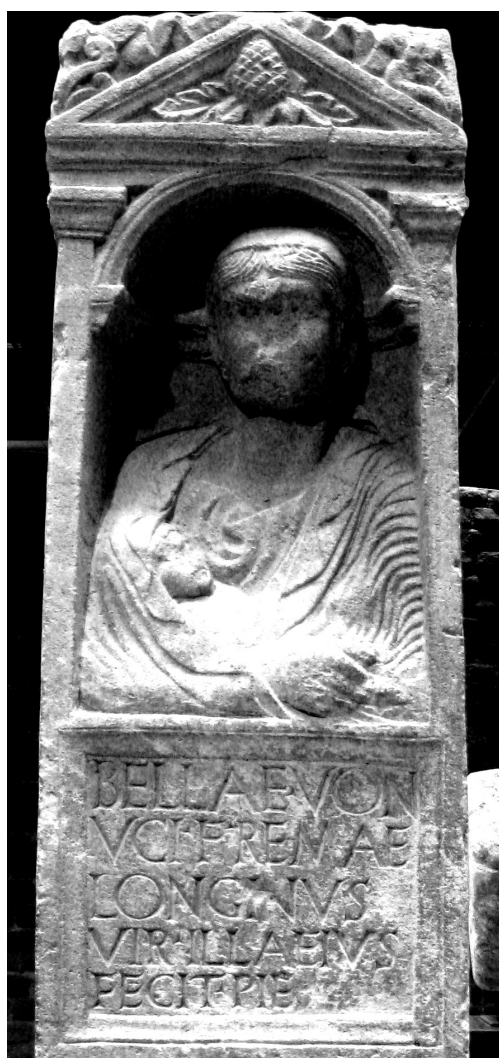
M36, C



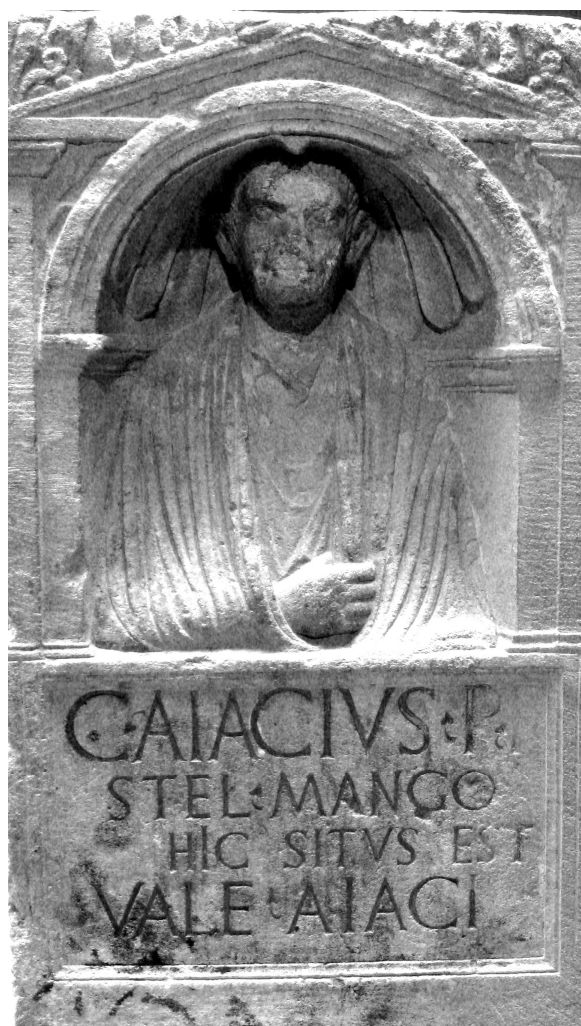
U1 Detail



U1



U2

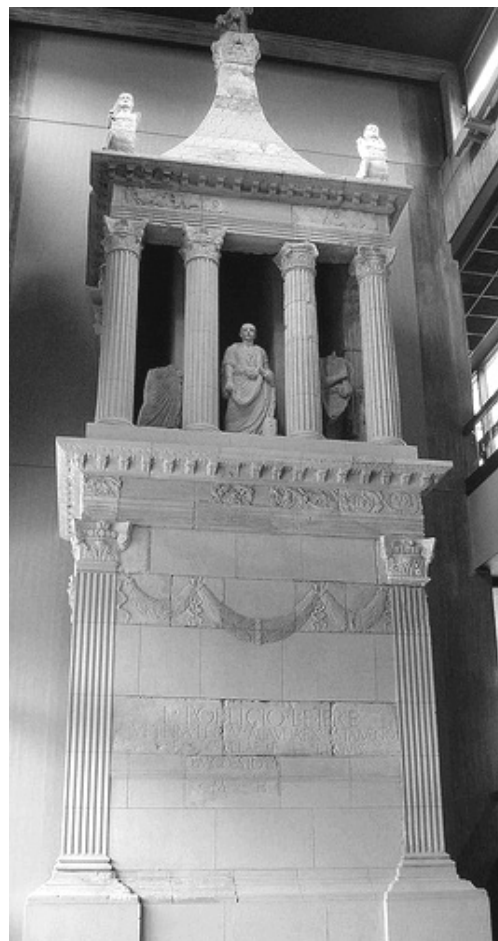


U3

Plate XXXI



U5 Gallery



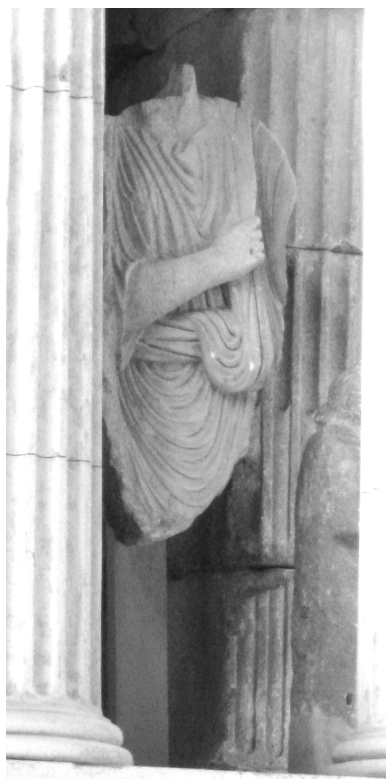
U5



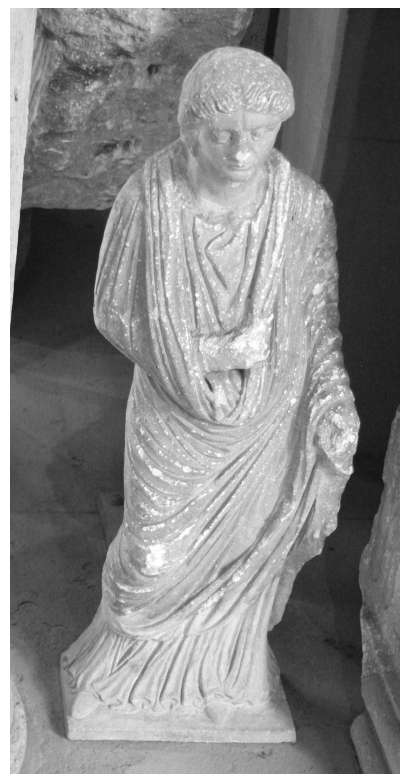
U5,3



U5,1

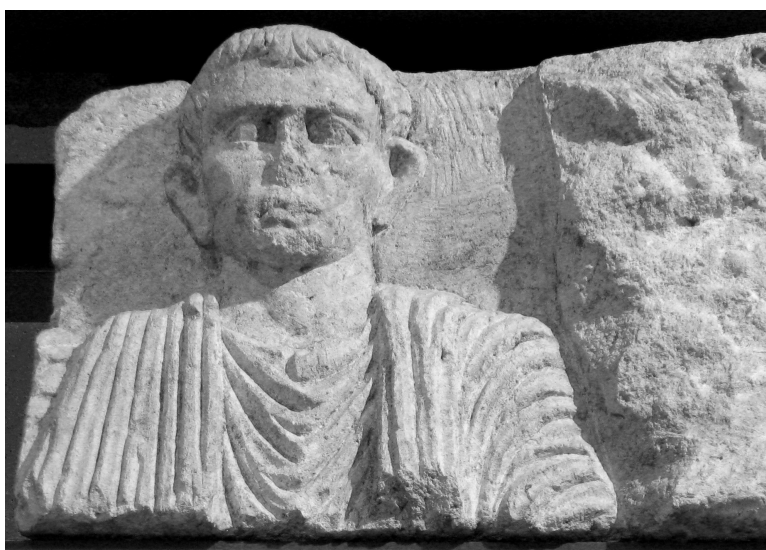


U5,2



U5,4

Plate XXXII



U4



U6



U12



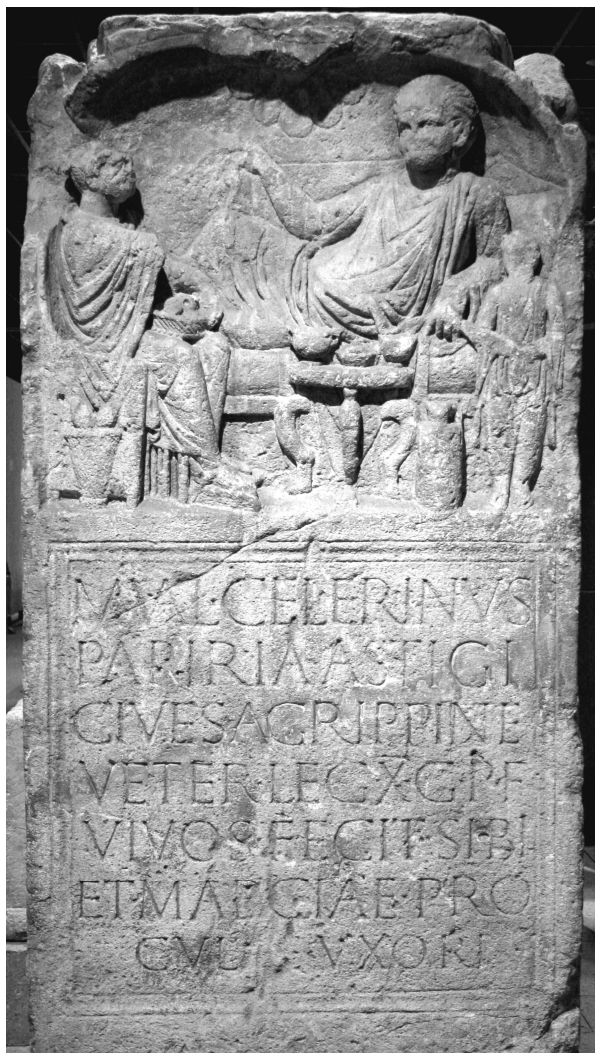
U12,1



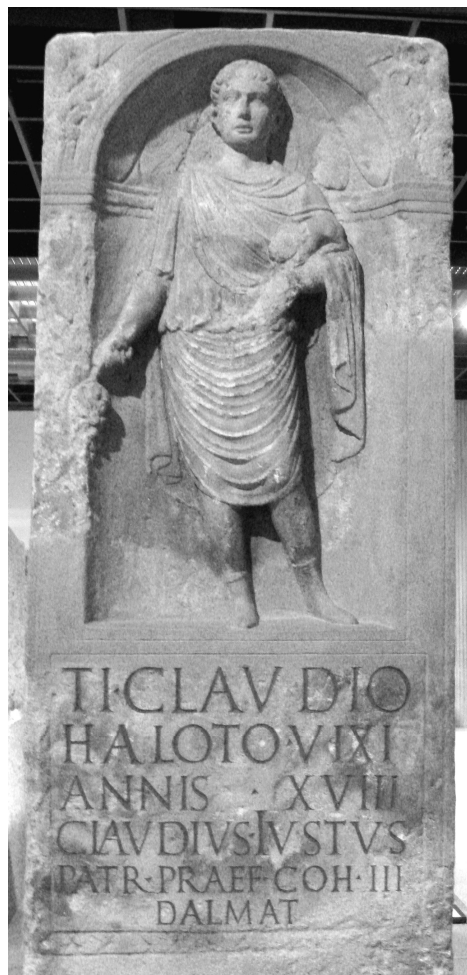
U12,3



U12,2



U10



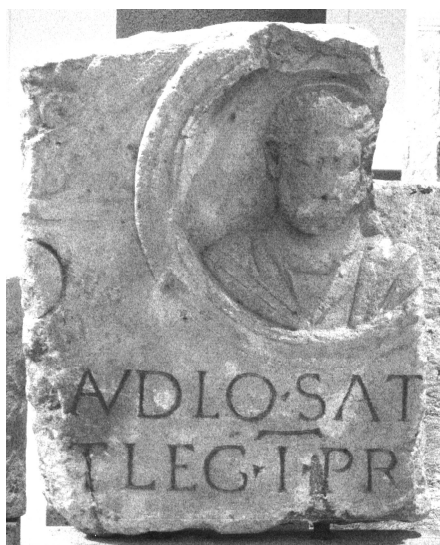
U7



U13



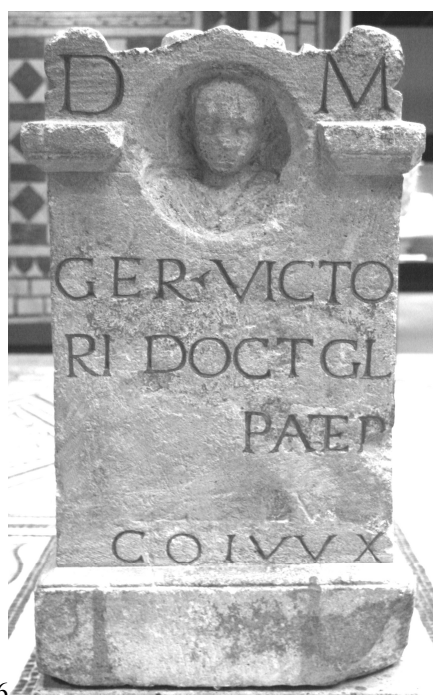
U9



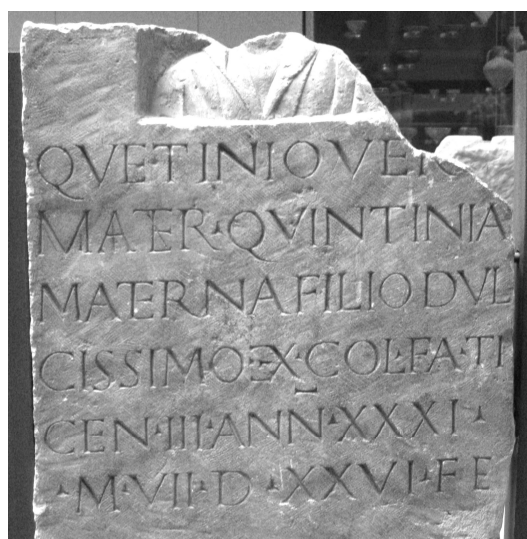
U14



U15



U16



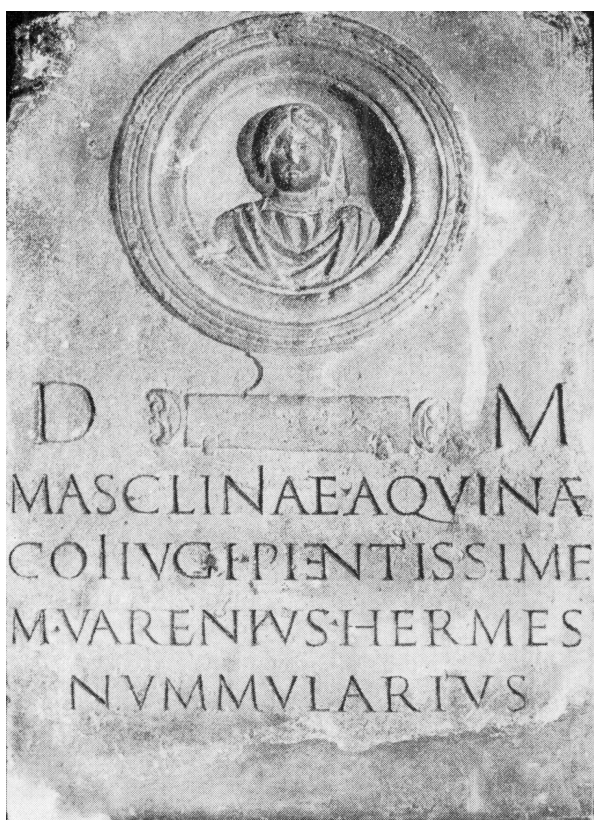
U20



U17



U24



U19



U22



U23



U25

Plate XXXVI



U28



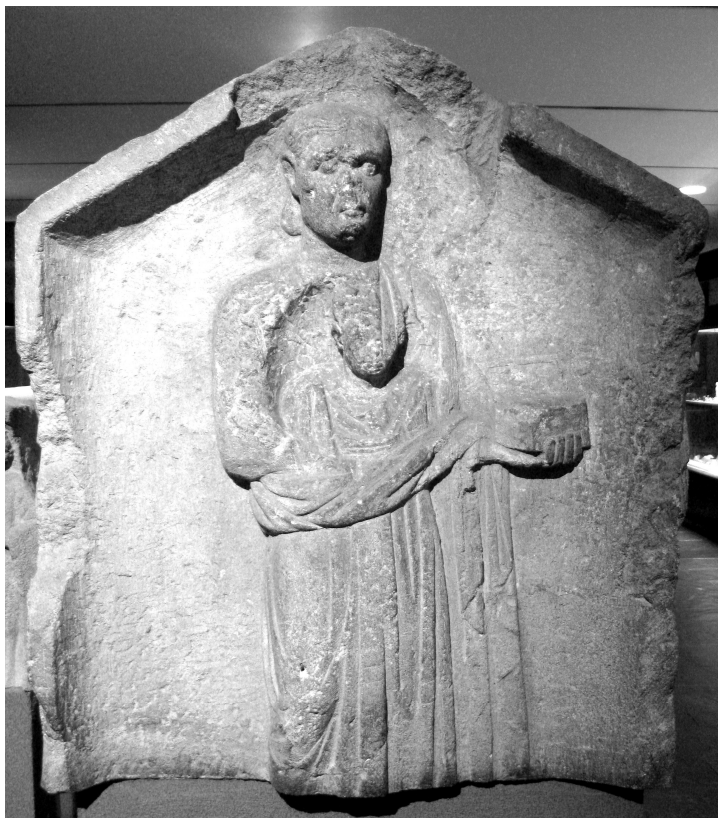
U30



U29



U40



U31



U32,2



U32,1



U32,3



U38



U39



U41 drawing by G. Cuper



U43



U47



U42



U45



U44

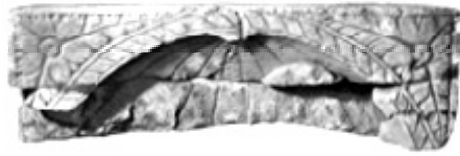


U48



U49

Plate XL



U51



U51 reconstruction drawing Lehner



U55



U59

